

THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

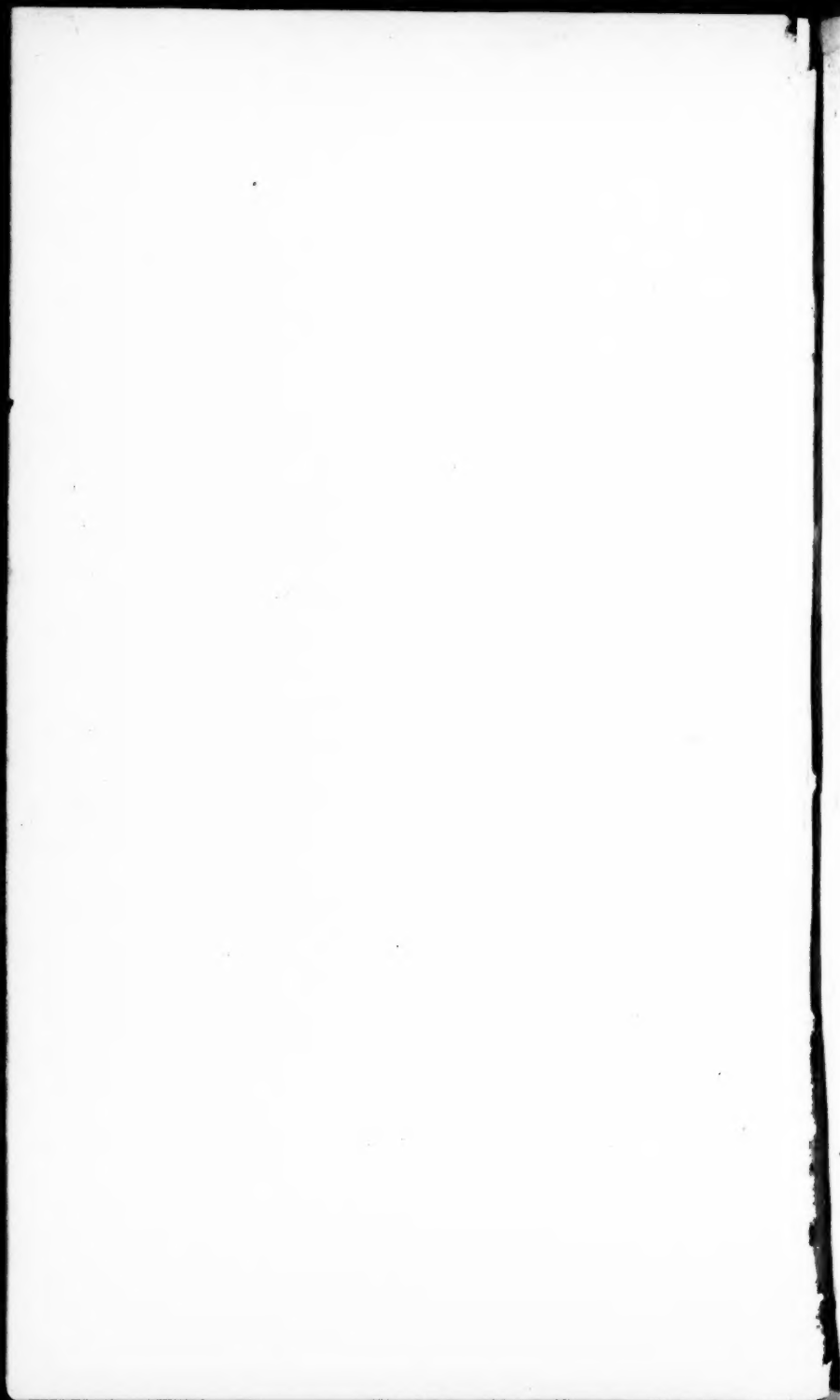
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IT is to the courage and zeal of the early Catholic missionaries in China that we are indebted for almost all that, until its opening to foreign intercourse since the last war, was known of the geography, the social and political condition, the history, and, above all, the religion, of that singular country. Its jealous and exclusive policy had held the curiosity of Europe for ages upon the stretch. Travellers had gone and returned in vain; merchants had employed every device and every allurements of commerce: negotiations had been fruitlessly attempted; and, if it were not for the few vague and uncertain traditions derived from the half romantic narratives of mediæval travellers, China, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, might be called a complete blank upon the map of nations. But when, on a sudden, the mysterious veil was lifted at last, the revelation was as complete as it was

unhoped and unexpected. What the energy of science, the enterprise of commerce, and the craft of diplomacy, with all their appliances and means, had attempted in vain, was rapidly and successfully achieved by the persevering simplicity of a few high-souled men, animated by the inspiring influence of religion. And in the wise and enlightened policy of that great order to which this success is mainly attributable, the mission which carried the light of the Gospel to the vast region from which it had been so long and so jealously shut out, became the medium through which the knowledge of its strange and interesting characteristics was communicated to the West. By the provident and judicious selection of its members, the Jesuit mission in China and its dependencies, combined with its sacred character the functions of one of our modern exploring expeditions. Many of them accomplished historians, naturalists, and philosophers, the early fathers of the society who penetrated into China, employed their hours of leisure from more sacred duties, in collecting information, each in his own department, which they transmitted, as occasion arose, to their brethren in Europe. In this way the great Jesuit houses of France, Italy, and Germany, became like the learned societies of our times. The letters of the missionaries held the place which the reports of the professional modern explorers now occupy; and the *savans* of the seventeenth century watched the appearance of the *Lettres Edifiantes* with the same curiosity with which the interesting communications to the Asiatic Society, or the Syro-Egyptian, or the Geographical, are now occasionally regarded.

What the Jesuits were to China, the Lazarist missionaries promise to be for Tibet. The "Annals of the Propagation of the Faith" have taken the place of the *Lettres Edifiantes*. And if the work of Father Huc upon Tibet and Tartary be not as comprehensive and as detailed as that of Père Du Halde on China, it has, from its being entirely a personal narrative, many advantages in point of interest over the vast and elaborate compilation of the Jesuit father, which was drawn exclusively from the letters and reports of his missionary brethren.

Père Huc is well known to the readers of the "Annals of the Propagation of the Faith." His interesting letters have long been one of the chief attractions in this most attractive collection, and indeed the most important facts

contained in the present work have been anticipated in these communications. But they are here woven into a continuous narrative; for although the work contains a vast amount of most curious and interesting particulars regarding the doctrines, the institutions, and the usages of the Buddhist religion, as it exists in Tartary and Tibet, yet, as the title imports, its direct subject is but the history of a journey undertaken by P. Huc and his fellow-missionary, P. Gabet, from the north-eastern frontier of China to the capital of Tibet, and of their return from that city, after a residence unhappily too short for the accomplishment of all their projects. The occasion of this journey may be briefly explained to have been the formation of the new vicariate apostolic of Mongolia, the vicar apostolic of which had established his residence at Si-Wang, a small Christian village situated north of the Great Wall, one day's journey from Susu-Hoa-Fou. For some time before the establishment of this vicariate, MM. Huc and Gabet had been preparing themselves by the study of the Tartar dialects, for the work of the Gospel among the nomadic tribes included within its limits; and as, in organizing the new mission, it became necessary, first of all, to ascertain the precise extent and limits of the vicariate, and the character and habits of its inhabitants, these two fathers were naturally selected by their superior for the prosecution of this enquiry. Accordingly, in the latter part of the year 1844, they set out, with a single companion, a young Chinese convert, named Samdadchiemba, with a very scanty supply of money, and utterly unprovided with those appliances of comfort or convenience by which the difficulties of such an expedition might be obviated or diminished. Their journey occupied nearly a year and a half, part of which time, however, was spent in one of the Lamaseries, or Tartar monasteries, which form so curious a feature in the religious system of this strange people. At last, after almost incredible hardships, from fatigue, from scantiness of provisions for themselves, and of water and forage for their cattle, and, above all, from the excessive cold of the high table-lands over which their way lay, they succeeded, at the end of January 1846, in reaching Lla-Ssa, the capital of Tibet. This was the great object of their mission; and they had made all their arrangements for a protracted residence, and for a systematic investigation of the language, the manners, and, above all, the religion of

the Tibetians, when, by the intrigues of the Chinese resident, Ki-chan, the well-known commissioner by whom were conducted the negotiations which led to the cession of Hong Kong, and the termination of the late war, they were obliged to leave Lla-Ssa, and were refused even the poor indulgence of choosing their own route on their return. They would have desired, naturally, to take the short and easy route towards the Indian frontier; but Ki-chan not alone insisted on their returning by a route quite different from that which they had traversed in coming, but also delivered them up to the Chinese tribunals at home, as having violated the laws of the Celestial Empire. This homeward journey, which was performed under the charge of an escort, occupied about three months, and in October 1846 they reached Macao, after a march of nearly two thousand miles. Thence, after a tedious trial, they were permitted to return to the missionary station in Mongolia, whence they had taken their departure.

It is not our purpose to follow the travellers through this long and most extraordinary expedition. A great part of the way which they traversed had never before been traced by the foot of a European, and scarcely any portion of it is known by a regular or detailed description. But, notwithstanding the attractions of M. Huc's book, as a mere tourist's narrative, it is so full of novel and curious information, on the social and religious condition of those strange tribes among which its scene is laid, that we must content ourselves with a very brief account of the missionaries' journey, and devote the main part of the space at our disposal, to the important and interesting facts regarding the Tartar and Tibetan religious system which it discloses.

By the general name of Tibet is understood that vast and dreary table-land which lies to the north, and north-east of our Indian possessions, and extends east and west beyond the range of the Himalaya, a distance of about fifteen hundred miles, from the north eastern point of Caubul to the western frontier line of China Proper. It is divided into two parts;—Little Tibet, or Balti, which lies at the extreme west, along the provinces of Caubul, the Punjaub, and Delhi;—and Great Tibet, which is by far more important and extensive, and in which the seat of government is situated. This city, which is called Lassa,

or more properly *Lla-Ssa*, is the residence of that mysterious personage, at once the divinity, the chief priest, and the sovereign of the Tibetians, popularly known as the Grand Lama, or in the language of the country, the *Talé* Lama, because he is held to be "a sea" (*Talé*) of wisdom* and power. Indeed, the very name, Tibet, by which the country itself is known among Europeans, is a curious example of the changes to which foreign geographical nomenclature is subject. It is entirely unused among the natives, the name by which they designate themselves being *Bot*, and that of the country, *Bootan*;—an appellative confined, in our use to a single province upon the southern frontier, where it joins the border of the Assam territory.

Tibet Proper is directly subject to the rules of the *Talé* Lama; but, under the semblance of an independent government, it is in reality controlled by the influence, and indeed, the direct agency, of the Emperor of China. A minister of that court resides permanently at *Lla-Ssa*; and the treatment which M. Huc and his companions experienced at his hands, is a sufficient evidence at once of the encroachments on Tibetan independence, habitually made by China, under the name of friendly intervention, and of the helpless, though reluctant acquiescence of the Tibetan government in this assumption. Lesser Tibet is in the condition of most of the outlying districts of all eastern principalities. It is broken up into many provinces, each nominally subject to an independent chieftain; the degree, as well as the tenure of that independence, being ordinarily in the ratio of the power of asserting or maintaining it, possessed by each individual.

The missionaries' description of the country which they traversed, and which extends from the north-eastern angle of the Great Wall of China, to the centre of Tibet, its general appearance, its scenery, its character, and its resources, is extremely curious and interesting. Near as it lies to the tropic, it is the bleakest and most desolate, region inhabited by any people elevated beyond the scale of barbarism. Cities it has none, with the single exception of *Lla-Ssa*. The few scattered and irregular towns which

* The name has ordinarily been written Dalai Lama, but M. Huc asserts that the orthography given above is the correct one.

are met at rare intervals, can scarcely be said to deserve the name. They are indebted for the main body of their population to the vast and overgrown Lamaseries, or monasteries, around which, as nuclei, they have grown into existence; by a process not dissimilar to that which produced many of the great towns and cities of mediæval Europe, but which, in Tibet, destitute of that principle of vitality which animated the kindred institutions of the west, has failed to raise them beyond the very lowest point in the social scale. The plains and table-lands which extend across Mongolia, and Eastern Tibet, are dreary beyond description. The immense elevation at which they lie,—some of them fifteen thousand feet above the level of the sea—will sufficiently explain their sterile and desolate condition. Over a large proportion of this unhappy region, not a tree is to be seen,—not a trace of verdure; the stunted shrubs, which are occasionally met, can hardly be said to maintain the appearance of life. Their leaves, as they shoot, are dried and shrivelled up by the cold and arid winds which incessantly prevail, and under whose singularly searching and penetrating power, even the most seasoned wood shrinks and splits, as under a fire-blast of the desert. The hardships encountered in such a journey may well be imagined, and for the general reader, will form not the least interesting portion of M. Huc's narrative.

But although part of MM. Huc and Gabet's route (and especially the homeward one,) would appear never to have been traversed by any European before them, yet they are by no means the first who have penetrated into the interior of Tibet. Few of our readers perhaps are prepared to believe how frequent and how unreserved was the intercourse of Europe with these distant regions, during the latter portion of the mediæval period. Even allowing for a little colouring on the part of the enthusiastic orientalist, (Abel Remusat) from whom the following passage is extracted; it is impossible to doubt the substantial truth of his representation.

“Two systems of civilization had become established at the two extremities of the ancient continent, as the effect of independent causes, without communication, and consequently without mutual influence. All at once the events of war and political combinations bring into contact these two great bodies, long strangers to each other. The formal interviews of ambassadors are not the only

occasions which brought them together. Other occasions more private, but also more efficacious, were established by imperceptible but innumerable ramifications, by the travels of a host of individuals, attracted to the two extremities of the earth, with commercial views, in the train of ambassadors or armies. The irruption of the Mongols, by throwing everything into agitation, neutralized distance, filled up intervals, and brought the nations together; the events of war transported millions of individuals to an immense distance from the places where they were born. History has recorded the voyages of kings, of ambassadors, of missionaries. Sempad, the Orbelian; Hayton, King of Armenia; the two Davids, Kings of Georgia; and several others were led by political motives to the depths of Asia. Yeroslaf, Grand Duke of Soudal and vassal of the Mongols, like the other Russian princes, came to Kara-Korum, where he died of poison, it was said, administered by the Empress herself, the mother of the Emperor Gayouk.

"Many monks, Italians, French, Flemings, were charged with diplomatic missions to the Grand Khan. Mongols of distinction came to Rome, Barcelona, Valencia, Lyons, Paris, London, Northampton; and a Franciscan of the kingdom of Naples was Archbishop of Peking. His successor was a professor of theology of the Faculty of Paris. But how many others, less celebrated, were led in the train of those men, either as slaves, or impelled by the desire of gain, or by curiosity, to countries hitherto unexplored. Chance has preserved the names of a few. The first envoy who came on the part of the Tartars to the King of Hungary was an Englishman, banished from his country for certain crimes, and who, after having wandered throughout Asia, had finally taken service among the Mongols. A Flemish Cordelier met in the depth of Tartary a woman of Metz, named Paquette, who had been carried away from Hungary, a Parisian goldsmith whose brother was established in Paris on the Grand Pont, and a young man from the environs of Rouen, who had been present at the capture of Belgrade; he saw there also Russians, Hungarians, and Flemings. A singer, named Robert, after travelling through the whole of Eastern Asia, returned to find a grave in the Cathedral of Chartres. A Tartar was a helmet-maker in the armies of Philip the Fair. Jean de Plan-Carpin met, near Gayouk, with a Russian gentleman, whom he calls Temer, who served as interpreter. Several merchants of Breslau, Poland, and Austria, accompanied him in his journey to Tartary; others returned with him through Russia: these were Genoese, Pisans, and two merchants of Venice whom chance had brought to Bokhara. They were induced to go in the suite of a Mongol ambassador, whom Houlagou had sent to Khoubilai. They sojourned several years in China and Tartary, took letters from the Grand Khan to the Pope, and returned to the Grand Khan, bringing with them the son of one of their number, the celebrated Marco-Polo, and quitted once more the Court of

Khoubilai to return to Venice. Travels of this kind were not less frequent in the succeeding age. Of this number are those of John de Mandeville, an English physician ; of Oderic of Friuli ; of Pegolletti ; of Guillaume de Boutsdeselle, and several others. We may be certain that the journeys which have been recorded are but a small portion of those which were performed, and that there were at that period more people able to make a long journey than to write an account of it."—Vol. i. pp. 241—242.

The actual records of these visits are very scanty. Marco Polo gives hardly any particulars ; nor was it till the establishment of the Catholic missions in China, that any precise knowledge can be said to have been obtained. Early in the seventeenth century, in 1624, a Portuguese Jesuit, F. Antonio d'Andrada, with three companions, made his way under almost inconceivable difficulties, by the route of Northern India, across the Himalaya range. But they only penetrated as far as a place which they call *Rudac*, and which probably is the *Ladakh* of the more modern voyagers ; and the first who are recorded as having reached Lla-Ssa are two priests of the Chinese mission, FF. Dorville and Grüber. As they started from Peking, it would seem more than probable that their route corresponded in the main with that of MM. Huc and Gabet. The difficulties which they encountered, and to the fatigue of which F. Dorville fell a victim, were of precisely the same character as those of the Lazarist missionaries. Their journey occupied above seven months. It does not seem to have been attended with any important practical results. But in the beginning of the following century, a Capuchin mission was actually established at Lla-Ssa, and continued in existence till the middle of the century. A remnant of the library of these fathers was preserved at Lla-Ssa until very lately ; and in 1847, about fifty volumes of it were presented by Mr. Hodgson to his present Holiness, Pius IX. Soon after the establishment of this mission, an Italian Jesuit, F. Ippolito Desideri, accompanied by a second member of the same Order, penetrated as far as Lla-Ssa, by the route of Ladakh ;—a route which it would seem, has never been traversed by any other European explorer, with the exception, perhaps, of another more recent visitor of Tibet, the ill-fated M. Moorcroft. The fate of the latter traveller has been involved in some obscurity, but M. Huc obtained at Lla-Ssa the following particulars regarding it.

"One day, the governor of the Cashmerians brought to us one of his fellow-countrymen, named Nisan, who had been for a long time the servant of Moorcroft at Lha-Ssa. He talked to us at some length about his old master, and the details he gave us confirmed all that had already been related to us. The adventures of this English traveller appearing to us too singular to be passed over wholly in silence, we have thought proper to give a short review of them.

"According to the statements collected in the capital of Thibet itself, Moorcroft arrived from Ladak at Lha-Ssa in the year 1826; he wore the Mussulman dress, and spoke the Farsie language, expressing himself in that idiom with so much facility, that the Cashmerians of Lha-Ssa took him for one of their countrymen. He hired a house in the town, where he lived for twelve years with his servant Nisan, whom he had brought from Ladak, and who himself thought that his master was a Cashmerian. Moorcroft had purchased a few herds of goats and oxen, which he had confided to the care of some Thibetian shepherds, who dwelt in the gorges of the mountains, about Lha-Ssa. Under the pretext of inspecting his herds, the feigned Mussulman went freely about the country, making drawings and preparing his geographical charts. It is said that never having learnt the Thibetian language, he abstained from holding direct communication with the people of the country. At last, having dwelt for twelve years at Lha-Ssa, Moorcroft took his way back to Ladak, but whilst he was in the province of Ngari, he was attacked by a troop of brigands, who assassinated him. The perpetrators of this murder were pursued and arrested by the Thibetian government, who recovered a portion of the property of the English traveller, among which was a collection of geographical designs and charts. It was only then, and upon sight of these objects, that the authorities of Lha-Ssa found out that Moorcroft was an Englishman.

"Before separating from his servant, Moorcroft had given him a note, telling him to show it to the inhabitants of Calcutta, if he ever went to that city, and that it would suffice to make his fortune. It was doubtless a letter of recommendation. The seizure of the effects of Moorcroft created such a disturbance in Thibet, that Nisan, afraid of being compromised, destroyed his letter of recommendation. He told us himself that this note was written in characters exactly similar to ours.

"The facts we have here related, we derive from the Regent, from the Cashmerian governor, from Nisan, and from several other inhabitants of Lha-Ssa. Before reaching this town, we had never heard of Moorcroft; it was there we first learned the name of this English traveller. From what we have stated, it may be considered established that Moorcroft really went to Lha-Ssa in 1826, that he resided there for twelve years, and that he was afterwards

assassinated on the road to Ladak from Lha-Ssa."—Vol. ii., pp. 201—203.

In commenting on the contradictory accounts of Moorcroft's fate which had previously been published, M. Huc pleasantly refers to an apocryphal account of his own supposed martyrdom, which appeared, with full details, in the Indian and European journals, at the very time when he was on the point of re-appearing among his friends at Si-Wang, after his long absence.

"Without pretending to reconcile these contradictions, we will cite a fact which concerns ourselves, and which will, perhaps, seem to bear some relation to the affair of Moorcroft. Some time after our arrival at Macao, we read the following article in the '*Bengal Catholic Herald*,' a journal printed at Calcutta.—'Canton, the 12th September. The French missionaries of our city have lately received the news of the deplorable death of two fathers of their mission in Mongol-Tartary.' After a cursory sketch of the Mongol-Chinese territory, the writer of the article proceeds thus:—'A French Lazarist, called Huc, arrived, about three years ago, amongst some Chinese families, who were established in the valley of Black Waters, about two hundred leagues' journey from the Great Wall. Another Lazarist, whose name is unknown to me joined him in the plan of forming a mission among the Mongol Buddhists. They studied the Mongol language with the Lamas of the neighbouring Lamaseries. It seems that they were taken for foreign Lamas, and were treated in a friendly manner, particularly by the Buddhists, who are very ignorant, and who, mistook the Latin of their breviaries for Sanscrit, which they do not understand, but for which they have a secret veneration, because the rites of their religious books, in Mongol, translated from the Sanscrit, are printed in red ink.

"'When the missionaries thought themselves sufficiently learned in the language, they advanced into the interior, with the intention of commencing their work of conversion. From that time only uncertain rumours were heard about them, but in May last, from the interior of Mongol-Tartary, the news came that they had been tied to horses' tails, and so dragged to death. The real causes of this event are not as yet known.'

"Whilst they were thus announcing our death so positively, we were approaching the termination of our long journey, and were close upon Canton, happily enjoying a health fully capable of refuting the news thus propagated concerning us. But if, by chance, we had perished among the mountains of Thibet, if we had been murdered there, the world would have remained convinced that we had been tied to horses' tails, and had died in Mongolia. It would probably have never been believed that we had reached the capital

of Thibet; and if, at some later time, some European traveller had visited Lha-Ssa, and had been informed of our abode in that town, it would have been, perhaps, just as difficult to reconcile these statements, as those respecting Moorcroft. Although the death of the English traveller is a matter which we cannot clear up, we did not conceive that we could omit to say what we knew of it, without pretending to invalidate, by the accounts collected at Lha Ssa, the documents set forth in the scientific London journals."—Vol. ii. pp. 203, 204.

If M. Huc's volumes could be regarded as the mere journal of an ordinary tourist, in a new and unexplored region, and did not contain matter of infinitely more importance than the record of personal adventure, however exciting, we could easily fill our pages with an endless variety of most interesting scenes and incidents. Those whose ideas of Eastern travel are drawn from the picturesque sketches of *Eothen*, or *The Crescent of the Cross*, or even from the more kindred narrative of Fortune's *Wanderings in China*, have much to learn of the stern realities of a tour in Tartary, or Mongolia, from the simple, but most lively and graphic narrative of the hardy missionary. Even so much of the journey as lay within the confines of civilization, involved privations and hardships of no ordinary kind. The discomforts and perils which they encountered from the very moment of their departure from Si-Wang, were beyond the average of what falls to the lot of travellers, even in those countries which we are wont to call barbarian; and the hardships which awaited them during their winter journey, over the mountains which separate Tartary from Tibet, remind us although upon a limited scale, of the most fearful scenes in Xenophon's "Retreat of the Ten Thousand," or the still more terrible retreat of the French from the disastrous Russian campaign.

We have seldom met a more vivid picture of such terrors than the following:—

"We were imperceptibly attaining the highest point of Upper Asia, when a terrible north wind, which lasted fifteen days, combined with the fearful severity of the temperature, menaced us with destruction. The weather was still clear, but the cold was so intense, that even at mid-day we scarcely felt the influence of the sun's rays, and then we had the utmost difficulty in standing against the wind. During the rest of the day, and more especially during the night, we were under constant apprehension of dying with cold. Everybody's face and hands were regularly ploughed

up. To give something like an idea of this cold, the reality of which, however, can never be appreciated, except by those who have felt it, it may suffice to mention a circumstance which seemed to us rather striking. Every morning, before proceeding on our journey, we ate a meal and then we did not eat again until the evening, after we had encamped. As tsamba is not a very toothsome affair, we could not get down, at a time, as much as was required for our nourishment during the day ; so we used to make three or four balls of it, with our tea, and keep these in reserve, to be eaten, from time to time, on our road. The hot paste was wrapped in a piece of hot linen, and then deposited in our breast. Over it were all our clothes ; to wit, a thick robe of sheep-skin, then a lamb-skin jacket, then a short fox-skin cloak, and then a great wool over-all ; now, upon every one of the fifteen days in question, our tsamba cakes were always frozen. When we took them out, they were merely so many balls of ice, which, notwithstanding, we were fain to devour, at the risk of breaking our teeth, in order to avoid the greater risk of starvation.

"The animals, overcome with fatigue and privation, had infinite difficulty in at all resisting the intensity of the cold. The mules and horses, being less vigorous than the camels and long-aired oxen, required especial attention. We were obliged to pack them in great pieces of carpet, carefully fastened round the body, the head being enveloped in rolls of camel's hair. Under any other circumstances this singular costume would have excited our hilarity, but just then, we were in no laughing mood. Despite all these precautions, the animals of the caravan were decimated by death.

"The numerous rivers that we had to pass upon the ice were another source of inconceivable misery and fatigue. Camels are so awkward and their walk is so uncouth and heavy, that in order to facilitate their passage, we were compelled to make a path for them across each river, either by strewing sand and dust, or by breaking the first coat of ice with our hatchets. After this, we had to take the brutes, one by one, and guide them carefully over the path thus traced out ; if they had the ill-luck to stumble or slip, it was all over with them ; down they threw themselves on the ice, and it was only with the utmost labour they could be got up again. We had first to take off their baggage, then to drag them with ropes to the bank, and then to stretch a carpet on which they might be induced to rise ; sometimes all this labour was lost : you might beat the obstinate animals, pull them, kick them ; not an effort would they make to get on their legs ; in such cases, the only course was to leave them where they lay, for it was clearly impossible to wait, in those hideous localities, until the pig-headed brute chose to rise.

"All these combined miseries ended in casting the poor travellers into a depression bordering on despair. To the mortality of the animals was now added that of the men, who, hopelessly seized upon by the cold, were abandoned, yet living, on the road. One

day, when the exhaustion of our animals had compelled us to relax our march, so that we were somewhat behind the main body, we perceived a traveller sitting on a great stone, his head bent forward on his chest, his arms pressed against his sides, and his whole frame motionless as a statue. We called to him several times, but he made no reply, and did not even indicate, by the slightest movement, that he heard us. ['How absurd,' said we to each other, "for a man to loiter in this way in such dreadful weather. This wretched fellow will assuredly die of cold."] We called to him once more, but he remained silent and motionless as before. We dismounted, went up to him, and recognised in him a young Mongol Lama, who had paid us a visit in our tent. His face was exactly like wax, and his eyes, half opened, had a glassy appearance; icicles hung from his nostrils and from the corners of his mouth. We spoke to him, but obtained no answer; and for a moment we thought him dead. Presently, however, he opened his eyes, and fixed them upon us with a horrible expression of stupefaction: the poor creature was frozen, and we comprehended at once that he had been abandoned by his companions. It seemed to us so frightful to leave a man to die, without making an effort to save him, that we did not hesitate to take him with us. We took him from the stone on which he had been placed, enveloped him in a wrapper, seated him upon Samdadchiemba's little mule, and thus brought him to the encampment. When we had set up our tent, we went to visit the companions of this poor young man. Upon our informing them what we had done, they prostrated themselves in token of thanks, and said that we were people of excellent hearts, but that we had given ourselves much labour in vain, for that the case was beyond cure. 'He is frozen,' said they, 'and nothing can prevent the cold from getting to his heart.' We ourselves did not participate in this despairing view of the case, and we returned to our tent, accompanied by one of the patient's companions, to see what further could be done. When we reached our temporary home, the young Lama was dead.

"More than forty men of the caravan were abandoned, still living, in the desert, without the slightest possibility of our aiding them. They were carried on horseback and on camelback so long as any hope remained, but when they could no longer eat, or speak, or hold themselves up, they were left on the way-side. The general body of the caravan could not stay to nurse them, in a barren desert, where there was hourly danger of wild beasts, of robbers, and, worse than all, of a deficiency of food. Yet, it was a fearful spectacle to see these dying men abandoned on the road! As a last token of sympathy, we placed beside each a wooden cup and a small bag of barley-meal, and then the caravan mournfully proceeded on its way. As soon as the last straggler had passed on, the crows and vultures that incessantly hovered above the caravan, would pounce down upon the unhappy creatures who retained just enough of life to

feel themselves torn and mangled by these birds of prey."—Vol. ii. pp. 122—124.

It may be necessary to explain that, although, during a great part of their journey they travelled with a single attendant, the latter part of it was accomplished in the company of the Tibetan Embassy, on its return from Pekin—an immense party, swelled by the addition of many travellers, who sought the protection afforded by numbers in so insecure a region, and consisting at the time when it was joined by the missionaries, of about two thousand five hundred men, Tartars, Tibetians, and Chinese, with about fifteen hundred oxen, twelve hundred horses, and as many camels. The march of this monster caravan, during the early part of the expedition, was conducted with tolerable regularity. They started each morning two or three hours before sunrise, in order to encamp about noon, and give time to the animals to feed during the latter portion of the day. The signal for rising was given by the firing of a gun. Then followed the collecting, loading, and preparation of the beasts of burden; the cooking of their hasty and insipid breakfast of tea mixed with tsamba, or barley-meal, and "stirred with the finger into a wretched paste, neither cooked nor uncooked, hot nor cold;" then came the taking down, folding and packing of the tents, a second gun gave the signal of departure, the lead being taken by the more experienced horsemen, who were followed by long files of camels; and the rear was brought up by the long-haired oxen, in herds of two or three hundred each. The horsemen, without any one fixed place in the procession, dashed up and down as fancy directed; and "the plaintive cries of the camels, the roaring of the bulls, the lowing of the cows, the neighing of the horses, the talking, bawling, laughing, singing of the travellers, the whistling of the *lukto* to the beasts of burden, and above all, the innumerable bells tinkling from the necks of the *gaks* and camels, produced altogether an immense indefinable concert," for which the largest and most formidable caravan of the East could furnish no parallel. On such a motley group as this we can easily imagine the fearful effect of hardships like those described in the above paragraph.

Even the less fatal scenes through which they had to pass, were sufficiently formidable. Flattered by the easy

and agreeable character of the first days of their journeying, they had begun to imagine that the dangers of the way had been previously exaggerated, and to ask themselves "what people could mean by representing this Tibet journey as something so formidable." But they were speedily undeceived.

"Six days after our departure, we had to cross the Pouhain-Gol, a river which derives its source from the slopes of the Nan-Chan mountains, and throws itself into the Blue Sea. Its waters are not very deep, but being distributed in some dozen channels, very close to one another, they occupy altogether a breadth of more than a league. We had the misfortune to reach the first branch of the Pouhain-Gol long before daybreak; the water was frozen, but not thickly enough to serve as a bridge. The horses which arrived first grew alarmed and would not advance; they stopped on the bank, and gave the cattle time to come up with them. The whole caravan thus became assembled at one point, and it would be impossible to describe the disorder and confusion which prevailed in that enormous mass, amid the darkness of night. At last, several horsemen, pushing on their steeds and breaking the ice, actually and figuratively, the whole caravan followed in their train; the ice cracked in all directions, the animals stumbled about and splashed up the water, and the men shouted and vociferated; the tumult was absolutely fearful. After having traversed the first branch of the river, we had to manœuvre, in the same way, over the second, and then over the third, and so on. When day broke, the Holy Embassy was still dabbling in the water: at length, after infinite fatigue and infinite quaking, physical and moral, we had the delight to leave behind us the twelve arms of the Pouhain-Gol, and to find ourselves on dry land; but all our poetical visions had vanished, and we began to think this manner of travelling perfectly detestable.

"And yet everybody about us was in a state of jubilation, exclaiming that the passage of the Pouhain-Gol had been admirably executed. Only one man had broken his legs, and only two animals had been drowned. As to the articles lost or stolen, during the protracted disorder, no one took any heed to them.

"When the caravan resumed its accustomed march, it presented a truly ludicrous appearance. Men and animals were all, more or less, covered with icicles. The horses walked on, very dolefully, evidently much incommoded by their tails, which hung down, all in a mass, stiff and motionless, as though they had been made of lead instead of hair. The long hair on the legs of the camels had become magnificent icicles, which knocked one against the other, as the animals advanced, with harmonious discord. It was very manifest, however, that these fine ornaments were not at all to the wearers' taste, for they endeavoured from time to time, to shake

them off by stamping violently on the ground. As to the long-haired oxen, they were regular caricatures; nothing can be conceived more ludicrous than their appearance, as they slowly advanced, with legs separated to the utmost possible width, in order to admit of an enormous system of stalactites which hung from their bellies to the ground. The poor brutes had been rendered so perfectly shapeless by the agglomeration of icicles with which they were covered, that they looked as though they were preserved in sugar-candy."—Vol. ii. pp. 107—108.

We would gladly dwell a little longer upon these and similar incidents of this singular journey. Even its ordinary and every-day incidents are entirely new. M. Huc's description of the Tartar inn, with all its strange appurtenances, and particularly of the "travellers' room," with its long wide *Kang*, or monster hot-hearth;—a sort of furnace, occupying more than three-fourths of the apartment, about four feet high, with three huge boilers set in one end of it, and the rest of the surface covered with a reed mat," which serves at once for cooking the travellers' provisions, for the lounge or ottoman of the travellers themselves, for their dining, smoking, drinking, and gambling-table, and for their sleeping place at night;—his account of the usages of this simple people, and of the contrast which it presented to the craft and dishonesty of their neighbours beyond the Great Wall;—still more his journal of the adventures of his party after he had passed into the region where even those accommodations, primitive as they were, were no longer available; of their days spent in the saddle, and their nights under a pitiless sky; of their unromantic labour in procuring forage and water for their animals, and still more unromantic expeditions in search of firing for themselves;—the only available fuel, (called *argols*) being the dried dung of animals, gathered upon these lonely plains; the difficulties which beset them in a journey through a trackless desert, with no other guide but the compass and an imperfect map;—these and a host of other particulars, will be read with the utmost interest, but are entirely beyond our reach in an article like the present.

We must content ourselves with briefly stating the circumstances which led to the frustration of the missionaries' intended plan of residence in the capital of Tibet, which they had reached through so many difficulties. Soon after they had quietly established themselves, they were visited by four mysterious personages, who,

under pretence of seeking to purchase their wares, had come to spy out the real object of their visit to Tibet. The visit resulted in a summons before the Regent, by whom, however, they were received most kindly, and from whom they had every reason to expect, if not favour and support, at least perfect toleration and freedom from every obnoxious molestation and restraint. He inquired anxiously for the nature of the Christian doctrine, and it would even appear that he listened favourably to all their explanations. But unfortunately for their hopes, Tibet, like many another second-rate kingdom nearer home, is far from independent. It seems to stand in the same relation to the celestial Empire, which is occupied by the nominally independent auxiliaries of our Indian principality. Like them it has a representative of the Great Empire, resident in its capital. This resident, under the name of friendly counsel, is enabled to guide successfully the entire policy, internal and external, of the kingdom of Tibet; and it is hardly necessary to add, that the same jealous and exclusive principles which have so long operated prejudicially against Christianity in China, are still in activity, at least indirectly, in its dependency. The Chinese resident at Lla-Ssa, during the visit of MM. Huc and Gabet, was, as we have already stated, the celebrated Ki-Chan, under whose auspices the peace with England was concluded at Canton. This result, however, was obtained at the expense of the imperial favour to himself, and the sacrifice of all his titles and decorations, as well as of his property and possessions. He was banished into Tartary; but after a time however, he was partially restored to favour, and on occasion of a dangerous revolt in Tibet, was sent to Lla-Ssa, in 1844, as resident minister at that court. With the characteristic duplicity of his nation, he at first professed for the missionaries the same regard which was exhibited by the Regent. An examination of their papers and other effects, which was made at his secret instance, terminated in their complete acquittal from all suspicion of evil intentions. They had already begun to produce most favourable impressions on several of those with whom they had been thrown into contact, especially a young physician, of great importance, and a nephew of the Regent, who, with the express consent of his uncle, was placed under their instruction.

The Regent himself listened with great attention to

their explanation, and acknowledged the wonderful analogies which subsist between the Catholic religion and the national creed of Tibet. On two points only he admitted a difference, the origin of all things, (on which his view was decidedly pantheistic,) and the transmigration of souls. Ki-chan, on the contrary, proved to have been already familiar with the doctrines of Christianity. His conversation turned rather on political affairs.

"He sent for us twice or thrice, to talk politics, or, as the Chinese phrase it, to speak idle words. We were much surprised to find him so intimately acquainted with the affairs of Europe. He spoke a good deal about the English and Queen Victoria. 'It appears,' said he, 'that this woman has great abilities; but her husband, in my opinion, plays a very ridiculous part; she does not let him meddle with anything. She laid out for him a magnificent garden full of fruit-trees and flowers of all sorts, and there he is always shut up, passing his time walking about. They say that in Europe there are other countries where women rule. Is it so? Are their husbands also shut up in gardens? Have you in the kingdom of France any such usage?' 'No, in France the women are in the gardens, and the men in the state.' 'That is right, otherwise all is disorder.'

"Ki-Chan inquired about M. Palmerston; and whether he was still at the head of foreign affairs. 'And Ilu, what has become of him? Do you know him?' 'He was recalled; your fall involved his.' 'That is a pity. Ilu had an excellent heart, but he was devoid of prompt resolution. Has he been put to death or banished?' 'Neither the one nor the other. In Europe they do not proceed to such extremities as you at Peking.' 'Ay, truly; your Mandarins are more fortunate than we: your government is better than ours: our Emperor cannot know everything, and yet he judges everything, and no one may presume to object. Our Emperor tells us, That is white; we prostrate ourselves and answer, Yes, that is white; he then points to the same thing, and says, That is black; we again prostrate ourselves and reply, Yes, that is black.' 'But if you were to say that a thing cannot be at once white and black.' The Emperor would perhaps say to a person who exhibited such courage, You are right; but, at the same time, he would have him strangled or beheaded. Oh, we have not like you a general assembly of the chiefs (Tchoung Teou-Y; so Ki-Chan designated the Chamber of Deputies.) If your Emperor wished to act contrary to justice, your Tchoung-Teou-Y would be there to stop him."

"Ki-Chan related to us the strange manner in which the great affair of the English in 1839 had been managed at Peking. The Emperor convoked the eight Tchoung-Tang who constituted his privy council, and spoke to them of the events that had occurred in

the south. He told them that some adventurers from the western seas had manifested themselves rebellious and insubordinate ; that they must be taken and punished severely, in order to give an example to all who might be tempted to imitate their misconduct. After thus stating his opinion, the Emperor asked the advice of his council. The four Mantchou Tchoung-Tang prostrated themselves and said, "Tché, tché, tché, Tehou-Dze-Ti, Fan-Fou." (Yes, yes, yes ; such is the command of the master.) The four Chinese Tchoung-Tang prostrated themselves in their turn, and said, "Ché, ché, ché, Hoang-Chang-Ti, Tien-Ngen." (Yes, yes, yes ; it is the celestial benefit of the Emperor.) After this, nothing further had to be said, and the council was dismissed. This anecdote is perfectly authentic, for Ki-Chan is one of the eight Tchoung-Tang of the empire. He adds that, for his part, he was persuaded that the Chinese were incapable of contending against the Europeans, unless they altered their weapons and changed their old habits ; but that he should take care not to say so to the Emperor, because, besides that the suggestion would be futile in itself, it would perhaps cost him his life."—Vol. ii. pp. 191—193.

In the midst of this seeming cordiality, however, Ki-chan had already decided on their expulsion from Tibet. He began by suggesting that the climate of Tibet was too cold and poor for their constitution, and advising their return to France. Finding this hint fail, he spoke more openly, and avowed that there was as much of command as of counsel in the suggestion. The missionaries denied his right to prevent their residing in a country, the local authorities of which had sanctioned their sojourning therein ; and appealed to the example of other foreigners who resided in Lha-Ssa, without hindrance or molestation ; but Ki-chan was not slow to declare that the real cause of objection to their residence was their profession of Christianity, and, above all, their avowed intention of labouring to propagate it in Tibet. The Regent, on the contrary, saw no objection to them on this score. He maintained that Buddhism, resting on the foundation of truth, had nothing to fear from such antagonism, and encouraged the missionaries to persist in their resolution of remaining, assuring them of his continued protection. After a strong contest, nevertheless, they judged it, most prudent to give way, but with a firm protest against this unjust and arbitrary, as well as unconstitutional proceeding. They felt well assured that their own government would have espoused their quarrel ; and they were not without hope that, by the warm interposition of France in their behalf, which they could not but

anticipate in a case so flagrant, the country might eventually be reopened not only to them, but to all Catholics and Catholic missionaries without exception. With this protest, therefore, they signified to Ki-chan their intention of withdrawing; but they proposed not to return by the way of China, but by the comparatively short and easy route of India. To this, however, Ki-chan declared his decided opposition; and, notwithstanding all that they could offer, whether in remonstrance or in entreaty, he persevered in insisting on their returning to China, and submitting themselves to the judgment of the Chinese courts. We have already stated also that on this homeward route, they were obliged to take a course entirely different from that which they had already traversed, and although in many respects they escaped the excessive privations which had attended their former journey, yet their fatigue and sufferings were in this journey also very severe. We can but find room for a single adventure, although this is by no means an average sample of the perils of their mountain journey, but on the contrary, involved a certain degree of amusement, with the danger by which it was accompanied.

"The descent was more precipitous than the ascent, but it was much shorter, and did not require the exertion we had been obliged to make on the other side of the mountain. The extreme steepness of the way assisted us, on the contrary, in the descent, for we had merely to let ourselves go; the only danger was that of rolling down too fast, or of stepping out of the beaten path, and being thus for ever buried in the bottom of some abyss. In a country such as this, accidents of this description are by no means chimerical. We descended easily, then, now standing, now seated, and without any other mischance than a few falls and some protracted slides, more calculated to excite the merriment than the fear of travellers.

"Shortly before arriving at the base of the mountain, the whole caravan halted on a level spot, where stood an Obo, or Buddhist monument, consisting of piled up stones, surmounted by flags and bones, covered with Thibetian sentences. Some enormous and majestic firs encircling the Obo, sheltered it with a magnificent dome of verdure. 'Here we are, at the glacier of the mountain of Spirits,' said Ly-Kouo-Ngan. 'We shall have a bit of a laugh now.' We regarded with amazement the Pacificator of Kingdoms. 'Yes, here is the glacier; look here.' We proceeded to the spot he indicated, bent over the edge of the plateau, and saw beneath us an immense glacier jutting out very much, and bordered with frightful precipices. We could distinguish, under the light coating

of snow, the greenish hue of the ice. We took a stone from the Buddhist monument, and threw it down the glacier. A loud noise was heard, and the stone gliding down rapidly, left after it a broad green line. The place was clearly a glacier, and we now comprehended partly Ly-Kouo-Ngan's remark, but we saw nothing at all laughable in being obliged to travel over such a road. Ly-Kouo-Ngan, however, was right in every point, as we now found by experience.

"They made the animals go first, the oxen, and then the horses. A magnificent long-aired ox opened the march ; he advanced gravely to the edge of the plateau ; then, after stretching out his neck, smelling for a moment at the ice, and blowing through his large nostrils some thick clouds of vapour, he manfully put his two front feet on the glacier, and whizzed off as if he had been discharged from a cannon. He went down the glacier with his legs extended, but as stiff and motionless as if they had been made of marble. Arrived at the bottom, he turned over, and then ran on, bounding and bellowing over the snow. All the animals, in turn, afforded us the same spectacle, which was really full of interest. The horses, for the most part, exhibited, before they started off, somewhat more hesitation than the oxen ; but it was easy to see that all of them had been long accustomed to this kind of exercise.

"The men, in their turn, embarked with no less intrepidity and success than the animals, although in an altogether different manner. We seated ourselves carefully on the edge of the glacier, we stuck our heels close together on the ice, as firmly as possible, then using the handles of our whips by way of helm, we sailed over these frozen waters with the velocity of a locomotive."-Vol. ii. pp. 250, 281.

During this long and difficult journey, the missionaries, as far as the frontier of China, were under the charge of a Tibetan escort, the commander of which, or rather the dignitary, in whose honour it was ordered, was a Chinese mandarin, named Ly-Kouo-Ngan, (Ly, the Pacificator of Kingdoms,) who was returning from Tibet to his native country. He died upon the route; and, by a Chinese custom, which is religiously observed, his corpse, together with two others, a father and son, who died in similar circumstances, was conveyed in their company for the rest of the journey. As soon as they reached the frontier of China, at Ta-Tsien-Lou, their Tibetan escort was dismissed, and they were conveyed thence in palanquins at the public expense to Macao, which they reached early in October 1846. During the two following years they prepared and put into order the notes of their adventurous expedition, portions of which appeared at intervals in the "Annals of the Propagation of the Faith." M. Gabet

returned to France, for the purpose of laying before the French government a statement of the arbitrary treatment which he and his fellow missionary had experienced; but unhappily for the sacred cause, to which he had devoted himself with so much energy, he died in Europe, most probably from the effects of the fatigue and privation which he had encountered during the terrible journey, the task of narrating which has devolved upon his surviving companion and friend.

But we must turn, however reluctantly, from the mere travelling details of these volumes, to that portion of their contents which throws so much new light on the religion of Tibet and its strangely interesting and curious religious institutions. It may be well briefly to remind the reader of a change which has recently taken place in the ecclesiastical arrangements of the Catholic missions in these distant regions, and which, like so many others in all the different quarters of the globe, is mainly attributed to the activity and zeal of the society for the Propagation of the Faith. According to the old distribution of missionary territorial districts, the entire of the vast region comprised in the provinces of Mongolia, Mantchouria, and both the Tibets, was subject, so far as jurisdiction could be exercised, to the archbishopric of Pekin—an arrangement which dates from the pontificate of Clement V., in the early part of the fourteenth century. The persecutions, however, to which the Christians have been subjected, within the Chinese empire, during the last century, have driven many native Chinese Christians to seek a refuge among the Tartars in Mongolia; and since the systematic expulsion of the Christian missionaries from Pekin, in 1827, they have formed the establishment at Si-Wang, already alluded to; from which outpost the Mongolian missions, (which, though comprising but few individuals, are scattered over a vast number of separate stations,) have continued to be served since that time. The wants of these isolated little communities, as well as the prospect of extending Christianity among the natives, which their singularly religious dispositions, and the curious analogies with Catholicity embodied in their religion, seemed to hold out, induced the Holy See to form out of this vast region two separate missionary vicariates—that of Mantchouria, established in the year 1840, and that of Mongolia, in the year 1842. We have already said that it was

for the purpose of visiting this latter missionary district, of ascertaining its precise limits, and the condition and prospects of religion within it, that MM. Huc and Gabet, having first prepared themselves by study of the Tartar dialects, undertook their adventurous journey.

The opportunities of enquiry into the religious tenets of the Lamas by MM. Huc and Gabet, were exceedingly favourable. Their journey having been interrupted for nearly six months, while they waited the arrival of the Tibetan Embassy, they took up their residence during this interval, first, in the great Lamasery of Kounbaum, and afterwards in a smaller dependent Lamasery at Tcho-gortan. The constant intercourse with the Lamas thus afforded were sedulously improved by them; and although the information which they collected upon these important topics loses somewhat in distinctness by being mixed up with the record of their tour, yet it is full of interest, and especially for Catholics.

It is scarcely necessary to say that the religion of Tartary and of Tibet is the same, and that both in all important doctrinal particulars, correspond with that of the Chinese, though in practice and worship there are many diversities between them. The doctrines of Buddhism, as they exist in the vast territory of China and its dependencies, are, in most respects, identical with those of the ancient Hindoo religion, although they exclude the fundamental principle of Brahminism,—the distinction of castes as it prevails in India. The general doctrines are substantially identical;—the same pantheistic ideas as to the origin of the visible creation; the same belief in the transmigration of souls, and the eventual purification and restoration of all things to the Divinity of which they are but emanations; the same mysterious and shadowy recognition of the great primeval doctrine of man's fall and his redemption by God; the same acknowledgment of this actual redemption in the incarnation of Buddha. On this latter doctrine the belief of the people of Tibet, as is well known, is carried to the very extreme of literalism. They believe not only that the Divinity became incarnate in the person of Buddha, but that this incarnation has become perpetual; that by a mysterious transmigration of the Divine Being, on the death of the first incarnate Buddha, he reappeared in a new human form; and that by similar

successive transmigrations, the presence of the Divinity on earth has been perpetuated to the present day.

Christian students of the oriental systems of philosophy have been wont to draw from the Indian belief in the various incarnations of the Godhead, an argument for the existence of a primitive tradition of the coming incarnation of the Redeemer of the world, obscured and perverted by the peculiar notions of the people among whom it was preserved. It is impossible not to be struck by the analogous argument in favour of the existence of some similar obscure notion of the Real Presence of God upon earth, shadowed out by this perpetuated incarnation of Buddha, which is the leading feature of the Tibetan creed. It is, difficult, however, to conceive how such a belief could be derived from a primitive tradition; and perhaps it is to be explained in the same way as the many others analogous with Catholicity which are so intimately interwoven with the entire system of the religion of the Lamas.

It is difficult to fix the chronology of their system, and to ascertain at what precise period this belief attained the full development in which it is now found, and according to which this living Buddha is recognized, not alone as the object of the spiritual reverence and adoration of the people, but also their supreme monarch and temporal ruler. It is certain that a large accession of authority and dignity may be traced to the time of the conquests of Ginghis-Khan and his immediate successors. The name, however, by which the Buddha is known, *Lama*, originally signifies the purely spiritual office of *priest*; and even the more magnificent appellation of Dalai (or *Talé*), *Lama*, (literally *Ocean-Priest*), which is said to date from the sixteenth century, is applied to the Lama in his spiritual, and not in his temporal capacity.

By a strange inconsistency, however, the Lamas, although they profess to maintain the unity of God, and hold firmly that "Buddha is sole," admit, nevertheless, that there not only have been at different times many separate incarnations of Buddha, but there actually exist at the same time many different incarnate Buddhas. Scarcely any Lamasery of importance is without its Living Buddha; and although the full development of their veneration is reserved for the *Talé* Lama (whose residence is at Lla-Ssa), yet there are others also of very high claims, the chief of whom reside at Dja-chi Loumbo, at the Grand

Kouren, at the court of Peking, in the capacity of imperial almoner, and in the country of the Ssamba, at the foot of the Himalaya, where his office is to maintain by his prayers a perpetual barrier of snow upon the mountain-top, as a safeguard against the incursions of the fierce tribes who are supposed to inhabit the opposite side of the Himalaya range. M. Huc records a singular conversation on this contradiction in their system which he had with a learned Lama whom he encountered on his journey.

"One day we had an opportunity of talking with a Thibetian Lama for some time, and the things he told us about religion astounded us greatly. A brief explanation of the Christian doctrine, which we gave to him, seemed scarcely to surprise him; he even maintained that our views differed little from those of the Grand Lamas of Thibet. 'You must not confound,' said he, 'religious truths with the superstitions of the vulgar. The Tartars, poor, simple people, prostrate themselves before whatever they see; everything with them is Borhan. Lamas prayer books, temples, Lamaseries, stones, heaps of bones,—'tis all the same to them: down they go on their knees, saying, Borhan! Borhan!' 'But the Lamas themselves admit innumerable Borhans?' 'Let me explain,' said our friend, smilingly; "there is but one sole Sovereign of the universe, the Creator of all things, alike without beginning and without end. In Dchagar (India) he bears the name of Buddha; in Thibet, that of Samtche Mitcheba (all-Powerful Eternal); the Dcha Mi (Chinese) call him Fo, and the Sok-Po-Mi (Tartars), Borhan.' 'You say that Buddha is sole, in that case, who are the Talé Lama of Lha-Ssa, the Bandchan of Djachi Loumbo, the Tsong-Kaba of the Sifan, the Kaldan of Tolon-Noor, the Guison-Tamba of the Great Kouren, the Hobilgan of Blue Town, the Hoctoktou of Peking, the Chaberon of the Tartar and Thibetian Lamaseries generally?' 'They are all equally Buddha.' 'Is Buddha visible?' 'No, he is without a body; he is a spiritual substance.' 'So, Buddha is sole, and yet there exist innumerable Buddhas; the Talé Lama, and so on. Buddha is incorporeal; he cannot be seen, and yet the Talé Lama, the Guison Tamba, and the rest are visible, and have bodies like our own. How do you explain all this?' 'The doctrine, I tell you, is true,' said the Lama, raising his arm, and assuming a remarkable accent of authority; 'it is the doctrine of the West, but it is of unfathomable profundity. It cannot be sounded to the bottom.'

"These words of the Thibetian Lama astonished us strangely; the Unity of God, the mystery of the Incarnation, the dogma of the Real Presence seemed to us enveloped in his creed; yet with ideas so sound in appearance, he admitted the metempsychosis, and a sort of pantheism of which he could give no account."—Vol. i. pp. 126—127.

The manner in which, on the death of the Talé Lama, his place is again supplied, is detailed very fully:

"Without inquiring too nicely whether this agrees or not with what precedes, the Buddhists admit, besides, an unlimited number of incarnations. They say that Buddha assumes a human body, and comes to dwell among men, in order to aid them in acquiring perfection, and to facilitate for them their reunion with the universal soul. These Living Buddhas constitute the numerous class of Chaberon, whom we have frequently noticed before. The most celebrated Living Buddhas are—at Lha-Ssa, the Talé-Lama; at Djachiloumbo, the Bandchan-Remboutchi; at the Grand Kouren, the Guison-Tamba; at Peking, the Tchhang-Kia-Fo, a sort of grand almoner of the imperial court; and in the country of the Ssamba, at the foot of the Himalaya mountains, the Sa-Deha-Fo. This last has, they say, a somewhat singular mission. He prays night and day, in order to get the snow to fall continually on the summit of the Himalaya; for, according to a Thibetian tradition, there exists behind these lofty mountains a savage and cruel people, who only await the subsidence of the snow to come over and massacre the Thibetian tribes, and to take possession of the country.

"Although all the Chaberon, without distinction, Living Buddhas, there is, nevertheless, among them, a hierarchy, of which the Talé-Lama is the head. All the rest acknowledge, or ought to acknowledge, his supremacy. The present Talé-Lama, as we have said, is a child of nine years old, and he has now for six years occupied the palace of the Buddha-La. He is a Si-Fan by birth, and was taken from a poor and obscure family of the principality of Ming-Tchen-Tou-Sse.

"When the Talé-Lama dies, or to speak Buddhically, when he has laid aside his human envelope, they proceed to the election of his successor, in the following manner: Prayers are directed to be offered up, and fasts to be performed in all the Lamaseries. The inhabitants of Lha-Ssa especially, amongst whom the affair, redouble their zeal and devotion. Every one goes a pilgrimage round the Buddha-La and the 'City of Spirits.' The Tchu-Kors are perpetually turning in everybody's hands, the sacred formula of the mani re-echoes day and night, in all the streets of the town, and perfumes are burnt in profusion everywhere. Those who think they possess the Talé-Lama in their family, give information of the belief to the authorities of Lha-Ssa, in order that there may be established, in the children so indicated, their quality of Chaberon. In order to be able to proceed to the election of the Talé-Lama, there must be discovered three Chaberon, authentically recognised as such. The candidates come to Lha-Ssa, and the Houtouktous of the Lamanesque states meet in assembly. They shut themselves up in a temple of the Buddha-La, and pass six

days in retirement, fasting and praying. On the seventh day, they take a golden urn, containing three fish, likewise of gold, upon which are engraved the names of the three little candidates for the functions of the divinity of the Buddha-La. They shake the urn, the eldest of the Houtouktous draws out a fish, and the child whose name is thus designated by lot is immediately proclaimed Talé-Lama. He is then conducted in great pomp, to the street of the City of Spirits, every one devoutly prostrating himself on his passage, and is placed in his sanctuary.

"The two Chabérons in swaddling clothes, who have contested for the place of Talé Lama, are carried back by their nurses to their respective families; but to compensate them for not having succeeded, government makes them a present of 500 ounces of silver."—Vol. ii. p. 197-8.

It is disappointing to find that, notwithstanding the opportunities which they possessed in other things, our missionaries failed in seeing the present Talé Lama. The Regent of Lha-Ssa had promised them this favour, and had actually arranged a visit to the palace of the Buddha-La for the purpose, when the design was cut short for a reason which assorts ill with one's notions of a Living Buddha. They were excluded from an audience, *lest they should infect his Buddha-ship with the smallpox*, which was reported to have been brought to Lha-Ssa with the caravan of which they had formed part!

As regarded the inferior Living Buddhas, they were somewhat more fortunate. The Grand Lama of the Lamasery of Kounboun, in which they resided for several months, although not of the very highest class, yet held a considerable rank in the hierarchy of Tibetan divinities. Of this personage they obtained at least a passing glimpse, during the celebration of the feast of the new year in this monastery.

Whilst we were examining a group of devils, as grotesque, at all events, as those of Callot, we heard behind us a tremendous flourish of trumpets and marine conchs, and, upon inquiry, were informed that the Grand Lama was issuing forth from his sanctuary to visit the flowers. We desired nothing better, for the Grand Lama of Kounboun was a great object of curiosity with us. He soon reached the place where we stood. He walked in the centre of the principal dignitaries of the Lamasery, preceded by minor Lamas, who cleared the way with great black whips. This Living Buddha appeared to us to be, at the outside, forty years old, he was of ordinary size, with a very flat and very common face, and of a very

dark complexion. As he passed on he gave a vague glance at the bas-reliefs; when he saw that fine face of Buddha so repeatedly presented to his observation, he must, we thought, have said to himself that by dint of transmigrations he had dolefully degenerated from his original type. If the person of the Grand Lama, however, did not particularly strike us, his costume did, for it was strictly that of our own bishops: he bore on his head a yellow mitre, a long staff in the form of a cross was in his right hand, and his shoulders were covered with a mantle of purple-coloured silk, fastened on the chest with a clasp, and in every respect resembling a cope. Hereafter we shall have occasion to point numerous analogies between the Roman Catholic worship and the Lamanesque ceremonies.

"The spectators generally appeared to give very slight heed to their Living Buddha, their attention being much more closely applied to the Buddhas in butter, which, in truth, were much better worth looking at. The Tartars alone manifested any tokens of devotion; they clasped their hands, bowed their heads in token of respect, and seemed quite afflicted that the pressure of the crowd prevented them from prostrating themselves at full length."—Vol. ii. pp. 43—44.

On another occasion, however, they were lucky enough not only to see in this passing way, but to converse familiarly with one of these reputed Incarnate Buddhas. It was in the "Hotel of the Three Social Relations," at Tchoang-Long; the landlord of which having taken them for Ing-Kie-Li (English), "the sea-devils who were making war at Canton," was set right by a bystander, who reminded him that those sea-devils all "had blue eyes and red hair," and that they "never venture to quit the sea, for when they are on land they tremble, and die like fish out of water." During their stay in this classically named hostelry,* they were favoured with the sight of the Living Buddha.

"A little before night, an immense bustle pervaded the inn. A Living Buddha had arrived with a numerous train, on his return from a journey into Thibet, his native country, to the grand Lamasery, of which for many years he had been the superior, and which was situated in the country of the Khalkhas, towards the Russian frontier. As he entered the inn, a multitude of zealous Buddhists,

* These, and such as these, are the favourite appellations of the southern ones. "The Three Perfections," "The Five Felicities," "The Eternal Equity," take the place of our "Blue Lion," "Hog in Armour," "Bull in Mouth," &c., &c.

who had been awaiting him in the great court-yard, prostrated themselves before him, their faces to the ground. The Grand Lama proceeded to the apartment which had been prepared for him, and night coming, the crowd withdrew. When the inn had become tolerably clear, this strange personage gave full play to his curiosity; he poked about all over the inn, going into every room, and asking everybody all sorts of questions, without sitting down or staying anywhere. As we expected, he favoured us with a visit. When he entered our chamber, we were gravely seated on the kang; we studiously abstained from rising at his entrance, and contented ourselves with welcoming him by a motion of our hands. He seemed rather surprised at this uncereemonious reception, but not at all disconcerted. Standing in the middle of the room, he stared at each of us intently, one after the other. We, like himself, preserving entire silence all the while, exercised the privilege of which he had set us the example, and examined him closely. He seemed about fifty years old; he was enveloped in a great robe of yellow taffeta, and he wore red velvet Thibetian boots, with remarkably thick soles. He was of the middle height, and comfortably stout; his dark brown face denoted extreme good nature, but there was in his eyes, when you attentively examined them, a strange, wild, haggard expression, that was very alarming. At length he addressed us in the Mongol tongue, which he spoke with great facility. In the first instance, the conversation was nothing more than the ordinary phrases exchanged between travellers, about one another's health, destination, horses, the weather, and so on. When we found him prolonging his visit, we invited him to sit down beside us on the kang; he hesitated for a moment, conceiving, no doubt, that in his quality as Living Buddha, it did not become him to place himself on a level with mere mortals like ourselves. However, as he had a great desire for a chat, he at last made up his mind to sit down, and in fact he could not, without compromising his dignity, remain any longer standing while we sat.

"A Breviary that lay on a small table beside us, immediately attracted his attention, and he asked permission to examine it. Upon our assenting, he took it up with both hands, admired the binding and the gilt edges, opened it and turned over the leaves, and then closing it again, raised it reverentially to his forehead, saying, 'It is your Book of Prayer: we should always honour and respect prayer.' By-and-by he added, 'Your religion and ours are like this,' and so saying he put the knuckles of his two forefingers together. 'Yes,' said we, 'you are right; your creed and ours are in a state of hostility, and we do not conceal from you that the object of our journey and of our labours is to substitute our prayers for those which are used in your Lamaseries.' 'I know that,' he replied, smilingly; 'I knew that long ago.' He then took up the Breviary again, and asked us explanations of the engravings. He evinced no surprise at what we told him, only, when we had

related to him the subject of the plate representing the crucifixion, he shook his head compassionately, and raised his joined hands to his head. After he had examined all the prints, he took the Breviary once more in both hands, and raised it respectfully to his forehead. He then rose, and having saluted us with great affability, withdrew, we escorting him to the door."—Vol. i. pp. 283—284.

M. Huc bears full testimony to the truth of the existing impressions as to the worship actually paid to the Talé Lama. But he distinctly contradicts some of the stories of former writers on this subject.

"The Talé-Lama is venerated by the Thibetians and the Mongols like a divinity. The influence he exercises over the Buddhist population is truly astonishing; but still it is going too far to say that his excrements are respectfully collected, and made into amulets which devotees enclose in pouches and carry round their necks. It is equally untrue that the Talé-Lama has his arms and head encircled with serpents, in order to strike the imagination of his worshippers. These assertions, which we read in some geographies, are entirely without foundation. During our stay at Lhasa, we asked a good many questions on this point, and every one laughed in our faces. Unless it could be made out that, from the Regent to our argol merchant, all conspired to hide the truth from us, it must be admitted that the narratives, which have given circulation to such fables, were written with but very little caution."—Vol. ii. p. 198.

We have already alluded more than once to the wonderful analogies with Catholicity which are exhibited in the Tibetan worship. It is a subject which has attracted much attention from the very first opening of the country to the researches of Europeans, and which is still involved in much doubt and obscurity. As far back as the beginning of the fourteenth century, Oderic of Portenau, had observed the similarity between the relation of the Grand Lama to the religion of Tibet, and the position occupied by the Roman Pontiff in the Catholic system; and Marangoni, in his very curious and interesting work, "*Cose Gentilesche trasportate ad uso delle Chiese*," enumerates several writers by whom these analogies had been noticed. It would carry us far beyond the limits of our space to enter into anything like a full detail of these analogies. It will be enough to say, in general terms, that not only in the externals of worship, in the sacred vestments, in the instruments employed in the public service, in the names

of the rites and ceremonies which accompany them, but even in the more substantial practices and usages, even those which involve a principle of belief, the most wonderful similarity is clearly traceable. Thus, not only do we recognise as almost identical with our own, the vestments of the Grand Lama, already noticed—as the mitre, the cross, and the cope;—the instruments, as the censer with its moveable cover, suspended by chains, and opening or closing at pleasure; a species of crozier which is borne by the Lama; a sort of chaplet or rosary; the practice of blessing the people by extending the right-hand over their heads; the use of water for religious purposes, and a multitude of minor rites and ceremonies; but we also find the observance of compulsory celibacy, the obligation of fasting, penitential austerities, the practice of spiritual retirement on a plan analogous to our spiritual retreat; pilgrimages; public processions; prayers in the form of our litany; psalmody in alternate choirs; exorcisms, and even practices corresponding with our invocation of the saints. For the details of these we must refer to M. Huc's own pages, and we would even express a hope that the volumes which he has published are but preparatory to a more careful and elaborate account of these extremely interesting usages. We cannot even venture to transcribe the passage which comprises his opinion on the origin of these most remarkable resemblances. By some they are traced to that common instinct of our religious nature, which may be regarded as a kind of universal revelation, or at least a vague and indistinct, but not untruthful echo of the primæval revelation. But a more common opinion actually refers them back to the Catholic Church itself, and supposes them to have been imitated therefrom by a reformer of Buddhism, named Tsong-Kaba, who appeared in Tibet about the middle of the fourteenth century of our era. To this latter opinion H. Huc decidedly leans. It is well-known that, at the very time when the reform of Tsong-Kaba was introduced, the intercourse of Tibet and Tartary with Europe was most frequent and familiar. The mission of the celebrated Dominican, John de Monte Corvino, the first Archbishop of Pekin, had brought all the peculiarities of the Catholic ritual home to the very door of this enterprising reformer, and it is not wonderful that a ceremonial so imposing, and so calculated of its own nature to impress a religious-

mindful people, should be turned to account by him for the purposes of the great movement in which he was engaged. M. Huc even goes further, and thinks the story of Tsong-Kaba, and of his being instructed by a great teacher from the west, is but a myth, embodying the real history of the attempted introduction of Christianity into Tibet, which took place at this very period, under Monte Corvino and his companions. The legend describes Tsong-Kaba's instructor as "a stranger with a great nose," and the Lamas of Kounboun more than once told M. Huc and his companion, that their features resembled those of the master of Tsong-Kaba, and even "roundly asserted that they were of the same land with him."

We are far from undervaluing the importance of this conjecture, and we think it highly probable that some part at least of these analogies may be well explained by it. But we must add, that many of them are not peculiar to the religion of Tibet, but are found not only in the kindred creeds of India and China, but also in the isolated mysteries of Mexico and Peru. Of these we cannot hesitate to say that, like the spurious imitations of the great Christian mysteries, they are either the remnant of some common forms of worship handed down by tradition from the days when there was but one human family, or that they are the natural and instinctive expression of those common feelings of religion which God has implanted in the universal human heart, and which, when they find any external development at all, cannot fail to follow the same type, or at least an analogous modification thereof.

Connected with the legend of this great Tibetan reformer, Tsong-Kaba, we cannot help alluding to a very singular fact related by M. Huc:—At the foot of the mountain where he is said to have been born, stands a Lamasery or monastery, which is now a famous place of pilgrimage; it is called Kounboun, from two Tibetan words, signifying Ten Thousand Images, and takes its name from a tree which grows within its precincts. This tree is said to have sprung from Tsong-Kaba's hair, and on each of its leaves it bears a Tibetan character or letter distinctly impressed. MM. Huc and Gabet actually resided for a time in this monastery, and had a full opportunity of examining this celebrated tree. We shall give the result in M. Huc's own words:—

"At the foot of the mountain on which the Lamasery stands, and not far from the principal Buddhist temple, is a great square enclosure, formed by brick walls. Upon entering this we were able to examine at leisure the marvellous tree, some of the branches of which had already manifested themselves above the wall. Our eyes were first directed with earnest curiosity to the leaves, and we were filled with an absolute consternation of astonishment at finding that, in point of fact, there were upon each of the leaves well-formed Thibetian characters, all of a green colour, some darker, some lighter than the leaf itself. Our first impression was a suspicion of fraud on the part of the Lamas; but, after a minute examination of every detail, we could not discover the least deception. The characters all appeared to us portions of the leaf itself, equally with its veins and nerves; the position was not the same in all; in one leaf they would be at the top of the leaf; in another, in the middle; in a third, at the base, or at the side; the younger leaves represented the characters only in a partial state of formation. The bark of the tree and its branches, which resemble that of the plane tree, are also covered with these characters. When you remove a piece of old bark, the young bark under it exhibits the indistinct outlines of characters in a germinating state, and what is very singular, these new characters are not unfrequently different from those which they replace. We examined everything with the closest attention, in order to detect some trace of trickery; but we could discern nothing of the sort, and the perspiration absolutely trickled down our faces under the influence of the sensations which this most amazing spectacle created. More profound intellects than ours may, perhaps, be able to supply a satisfactory explanation of the mysteries of this wonderful tree; but as to us, we altogether give it up. Our readers possibly may smile at our ignorance; but we care not, so that the sincerity and truth of our statement be not suspected.

"The Tree of the Ten Thousand Images seemed to us of great age. Its trunk, which three men could scarcely embrace with outstretched arms, is not more than eight feet high; the branches, instead of shooting up, spread out in the shape of a plume of feathers, and are extremely bushy; few of them are dead. The leaves are always green, and the wood, which is of a reddish tint, has an exquisite odour, like that of cinnamon. The Lamas informed us that in summer, towards the eighth moon, the tree produces large red flowers of an extremely beautiful character. They informed us also that there nowhere else exists another such tree; that many attempts have been made in various Lamaseries in Tartary and Thibet to propagate it by seeds and cuttings, but all these attempts have been fruitless."—Vol. ii., pp. 52—4.

It is impossible, of course, without more satisfactory data, to pronounce any decided opinion as to this wonderful

lusus natureæ. We could wish that some lucky chance had brought it under the notice of Mr. Fortune, whose attractive work on "The Tea Countries of China," we have connected with that of M. Huc, on account of the interesting notices of the religious ceremonies of China which it contains, and which contrast curiously with those of the Tartar and Tibetan Lamaseries. We would gladly see the statement of the Lamas as to the impossibility of propagating this tree by seeds or cuttings, tested by Mr. Fortune's enterprise and skill. As the case stands, we can only suggest that possibly the type of the Tibetan characters may have been borrowed by the first inventors of the alphabet, from the figures inscribed upon these leaves.

M. Huc's account of the Tibetan pilgrimages is extremely curious. We can only find room for one peculiarity which will remind some of our readers of one of Carlyle's most familiar illustrations:—

"There are various modes of performing the pilgrimage round a Lamasery. Some pilgrims do not prostrate themselves at all, but carry, instead, a load of prayer-books, the exact weight of which is prescribed them by the Great Lama, and the burden of which is so oppressive at times that you see old men, women, and children absolutely staggering under it. When, however, they have successfully completed the circuit, they are deemed to have recited all the prayers contained in the books they have carried. Others content themselves with simply walking the circuit, telling the beads of their long chaplets, or constantly turning a sort of wheel, placed in the right hand, and which whirls about with inconceivable rapidity. This instrument is called Teku-Kor, (turning prayer.) You see in every brook a number of these Teku-Kor, which are turned by the current, and in their movement are reputed to be praying, night and day, for the benefit of those who erect them. The Tartars suspend them over the fireplace, and these in their movements are supposed to pray for the peace and prosperity of the whole family, emblemed by the hearth. The movement itself is effected by the thorough draught occasioned by the opening at the top of the tent.

"The Buddhists have another mode of simplifying pilgrimages and devotional rites. In all the great Lamaseries you find at short intervals figures in the form of barrels, and turning upon an axle. The material of these figures is a thick board, composed of infinite sheets of paper pasted together, and upon which are written in Tibetan characters the prayers most reputed throughout the country. Those who have not the taste, or the zeal, or the strength to carry huge boards or books on their shoulders, or to prostrate themselves, step after step, in the dust or mire, or to walk round

the Lamasery in winter's cold or summer's heat, have recourse to the simple and expeditious medium of the prayer barrel. All they have to do is to set it in motion; it then turns of itself for a long time, the devotees drinking, eating, or sleeping, while the complacent mechanism is turning prayers for them."—vol. i. p. 202-3.

But these vicarious penances sometimes lead to disputed spiritual accounts:—

"One day, on approaching a prayer barrel, we found two Lamas quarrelling furiously, and just on the point of coming to blows, the occasion being the fervour of each for prayer. One of them having set the prayer automaton in motion, had quietly returned to his cell. As he was entering it he turned his head, doubtless to enjoy the spectacle of the fine prayers he had set to work for himself, but to his infinite disgust, he saw a colleague stopping his prayers, and about to turn on the barrel on his own account. Indignant at this pious fraud, he ran back, and stopped his competitor's prayers. Thus it went on for some time, the one turning on, the other stopping the barrel, without a word said on either side. At last, however, their patience exhausted, they came to high words; from words they proceeded to menaces, and it would doubtless have come to a fight, had not an old Lama, attracted by the uproar, interposed words of peace, and himself put the automaton in motion for the joint benefit of both parties."—Vol. i. 203—204.

There is something of the same "Path-to-Paradise-made-easy" devotions, in the following curious practice:—

"One day he proposed to us a service of devotion in favour of all the travellers throughout the whole world. 'We are not acquainted with this devotion,' said we; 'will you explain it to us?' 'This is it: you know that a good many travellers find themselves, from time to time, on rugged, toilsome roads. Some of these travellers are holy Lamas on a pilgrimage; and it often happens that they cannot proceed by reason of their being altogether exhausted; in this case we aid them by sending horses to them.' 'That,' said we, 'is a most admirable custom, entirely conformable with the principles of Christian charity: but you must consider that poor travellers, such as we, are not in a position to participate in the good work; you know that we possess only a horse and a little mule, which require rest, in order that they may carry us into Thibet.' 'Tsong-Kaba!' ejaculated the Lisper, and then he clapped his hands together, and burst into a loud laugh. 'What are you laughing at? What we have said is the simple truth: we have only a horse and a little mule.' When his laughter at last subsided: 'It was not that I was laughing at,' said he; 'I laughed at your misconceiving the sort of devotion I mean; what

we send to the travellers are paper horses.' And therewith he ran off to his cell, leaving us with an excellent occasion for laughing in our turn at the charity of the Buddhists, which we thus learned consisted in giving paper horses to travellers. We maintained our gravity, however, for we had made it a rule never to ridicule the practices of the Lamas. Presently, the Lisper returned, his hands filled with bits of paper, on each was printed the figure of a horse, saddled and bridled, and going at full gallop. 'Here!' cried the Lisper, 'these are the horses we send to the travellers!' 'Tomorrow we shall ascend a high mountain, thirty lis from the Lamasery, and there we shall pass the day saying prayers and sending off horses.' 'How do you send them to the travellers?' 'Oh! the means are very easy. After a certain form of prayer, we take a packet of horses, which we throw up into the air, the wind carries them away, and by the power of Buddha they are then changed into real horses, which offer themselves to travellers.' We candidly told our dear neighbour what we thought of this practice, and explained to him the grounds upon which we declined to take any part in it. He seemed to approve of our sentiments on the subject; but this approval did not prevent him from occupying a large portion of the night in fabricating, by means of the press, a prodigious number of horses.

"Next morning, before daybreak, he went off, accompanied by several colleagues, full, like himself, of devotion for poor travellers. They carried with them a tent, a boiler, and some provisions. All the morning the wind blew a hurricane; when, towards noon, this subsided, the sky became dark and heavy, and the snow fell in thick flakes. We awaited, with anxious impatience, the return of the Stutterer. The poor wretch returned in the evening, quite worn out with cold and fatigue. We invited him to rest for awhile in our tent, and we gave him some tea with milk, and some rolls fried in butter. 'It has been a dreadful day,' said he. 'Yes, the wind blew here with great violence.' 'I'll venture to affirm it was nothing here to what we found it on the top of the mountain: the tent, the boiler—everything we had with us was carried away by a regular whirlwind, and we were obliged to throw ourselves flat on the ground in order to save ourselves from being carried away too.' 'It's a sad pity you've lost your tent and boiler.' 'It is, indeed, a misfortune. However, it must be admitted that the weather was very favourable for conveying horses to the travellers. When we saw that it was going to snow, we threw them all up into the air at once, and the wind whisked them off to the four quarters of the world. If we had waited any longer, the snow would have wetted them, and they would have stuck on the sides of the mountain.' Altogether this excellent young man was not dissatisfied with his day's work."—Vol. ii. pp. 67—9.

The most remarkable, however, of all the religious institutions of Buddhism, in Tartary and Tibet, is what may

be called the monastic profession as it exists among them. It is no exaggeration to say that it absorbs by far the largest proportion of the adult male population. The entire country is overspread with Lamaseries or convents of Lamas, by which name (literally signifying priest) those who are devoted to the ecclesiastical or religious life are known. Many of these monasteries number their inmates by thousands. The "Black Town" has no less than five Lamaseries, containing in all more than 20,000 Lamas. There is not a family to be found having more than one son, which does not supply at least one, and in most cases several Lamas, to this monster institute; and it is believed that this tendency is earnestly fostered and encouraged by Chinese influence, for the purpose of checking (the lamas being obliged to celibacy) the increase of the Tartar and Tibetan population. Père Huc affirms that for the vast majority, the choice of the Lama profession is by no means free. It is assumed in obedience to the will of parents, by whom the child is destined thereto from the cradle; but he adds, that as they grow up they become accustomed to this mode of life, and in the end, religious enthusiasm often attaches them strongly to it.

The Lamas are divided into three classes. The first, after taking a quasi-degree at some of the great colleges, settle with their own families, and although bound to celibacy, can hardly be said to retain any thing of their profession beyond the habit of red and yellow, which is the common badge of their order. The second class are a race of mere religious wanderers, without any fixed habitation, subsisting upon the rude but ready hospitality which is every where vouchsafed them in consideration of their order. They enter without ceremony any habitation which they may choose, and seat themselves as a matter of right, in the common apartment. Like the privileged race of mendicants now extinct, they repay this hospitality which for them is a settled right, by tales of their adventures, and of the wonders, especially their religious ones, which have befallen them in their varied career. If they choose to sleep for the night, they stretch themselves on the floor till morning, when they are again entitled to a share of the family meal, and when their fancy prompts them, proceed, where, and how they please, upon their wandering way. M. Huc tells us that they are to be met in every corner of the vast regions where Buddhism prevails. The third

class live in regular communities, where strict external discipline is maintained, and where the services of religion are performed with greater or less splendour, according to their resources. According to M. Huc, each Lamasery has its regular police, attired in a grey habit, with a black mitre. "Day and night they perambulate the streets of the Lama city, armed with a great whip, and re-establish order wherever their interposition has become necessary. These tribunals, presided over by Lama judges, have jurisdiction over all matters that are above the immediate authority of the police. Those who are guilty of theft, no matter how trifling, are first branded on the forehead, and on each cheek, with a hot iron, and then expelled from the Lamasery."

There is, however, one important difference between Lama community life, and that of the monastic institute of Christianity. The principle of community of property, is unknown among the Lamas. "You find among them," says M. Huc, "all the graduated shades of poverty and wealth, that you see in the cities of the world." At Kounboun, where he and M. Gabet resided, they often saw Lamas in rags, begging at the doors of their rich brethren, in the same so-called community, a few paltry handfuls of barley-meal. Still there is some pretence of this principle of community of goods.

"Every third month the authorities make a distribution of meal to all the Lamas of the Lamaseries, without distinction, but the quantity is altogether inadequate. The voluntary offerings of the pilgrims come in aid, but, besides that these offerings are uncertain, they are divided among the Lamas according to the position which each occupies in the hierarchy, so that there are always a great many who never receive anything at all from this source.

"Offerings are of two sorts, tea offerings and money offerings. The first is operated in this fashion: the pilgrim who proposes to entertain the brotherhood, waits upon the superiors of the Lamasery, and, presenting to them a khata, announces that he shall have the devotion to offer to the Lamas a general or special tea. The tea-general is for the whole Lamasery without distinction; the tea-special is given only to one of the four faculties, the selection being with the pilgrim. On the day fixed for a tea-general, after the repetition of morning prayer, the presiding Lama gives a signal for the company to retain their seats. Then forty young Chabis, appointed by lot, proceed to the great kitchen, and soon return laden with jars of tea with milk; they pass along the ranks, and as they come to each Lama, the latter draws from his bosom his

wooden tea-cup, and it is filled to the brim. Each drinks in silence, carefully placing a corner of his scarf before his cup, in order to modify the apparent anomaly of introducing so material a proceeding as tea-drinking into so spiritual a spot. Generally there is tea enough presented to go round twice, the tea being stronger or weaker according to the generosity of the donor. There are some pilgrims who add a slice of fresh butter for each Lama, and magnificent Amphytrions go the length, further, of oatmeal cakes. When the banquet is over, the presiding Lama solemnly proclaims the name of the pious pilgrim, who has done himself the immense credit of regaling the holy family of Lamas; the pilgrim donor prostrates himself on the earth; the Lamas sing a hymn in his favour, and then march out in procession past their prostrate benefactor, who does not rise until the last of the Lamas has disappeared."—Vol. ii. pp. 56—57.

But on the other hand the members labour as best they can, to improve and add to their individual resources. Some of them keep cows, and traffic in the milk and butter, among their brethren; others follow the trade of bootmakers, tailors, hatters, dyers; others keep shops for the sale of miscellaneous merchandize; others make a trade of purveying the "teas general," or "teas special," offered by pilgrims to the community in which they reside. One of these professions is, according to our notions, less out of harmony than the rest, with the spirit of the life itself.

"In the class of industrial Lamas there is, however, a certain number who derive their livelihood from occupations which seem more conformable with the spirit of a religious life, namely, the printing and transcribing the Lamanesque books. Our readers are, perhaps, aware that the Thibetian writing proceeds horizontally, and from left to right. Though the idiom of the Lamas is alphabetical, much in the manner of our European languages, yet they make no use of moveable type; stereotype printing on wood is alone practised. The Thibetian books resemble a large pack of cards; the leaves are moveable, and printed on both sides. As they are neither sewn nor bound together, in order to preserve them, they are placed within two thin boards, which are fastened together with yellow bands. The editions of the Thibetian books printed at Kounboum are very rude, the letters are sprawling and coarse, and in all respects very inferior to those which emanate from the imperial printing press at Peking. The manuscript editions, on the contrary, are magnificent; they are enriched with illustrative designs, and the characters are elegantly traced. The Lamas do not write with a brush like the Chinese, but use little sticks of bamboo cut in the form of a pen; their inkstand is a little copper

box, resembling a jointed snuff-box, and which is filled with cotton saturated with ink. The Lamas size their paper, in order to prevent its blotting; for this purpose, instead of the solution of alum used by the Chinese, they sprinkle the paper with water mixed with one-tenth part of milk, a simple, ready, and perfectly effective process."—Vol. ii. pp. 58—59.

The general picture of Lama monastic manners is extremely graphic and life-like.

"The Lamasery of Kounboun contains nearly 4,000 Lamas; its site is one of enchanting beauty. Imagine in a mountain's side a deep, broad ravine, adorned with fine trees, and harmonious with the cawing of rooks and yellow-beaked crows, and the amusing chattering of magpies. On the two sides of the ravine, and on the slopes of the mountain, rise, in an amphitheatrical form, the white dwellings of the Lamas of various sizes, but all alike surrounded with a wall, and surmounted by a terrace. Amidst these modest habitations, rich only in their intense cleanliness and their dazzling whiteness, you see rising, here and there, numerous Buddhist temples with gilt roofs, sparkling with a thousand brilliant colours, and surrounded with elegant colonnades. The houses of the superiors are distinguished by streamers floating from small hexagonal turrets; everywhere the eye is attracted by mystic sentences, written in large Thibetian characters, red or black, upon the walls, upon the doors, upon the posts, upon pieces of linen floating like flags, from masts upon the tops of the houses. Almost at every step you see niches in form resembling a sugar-loaf, within which are burning incense, odoriferous wood, and cypress leaves. The most striking feature of all, however, is to see an exclusive population of Lamas walking about the numerous streets of the Lamasery, clothed in their uniform of red dresses and yellow mitres. Their face is ordinarily grave; and though silence is not prescribed, they speak little, and that always in an under tone. You see very few of them at all about the streets, except at the hours appointed for entering or quitting the schools, and for public prayer. During the rest of the day, the Lamas, for the most part, keep within doors, except when they descend by narrow, tortuous paths to the bottom of the ravines, and return thence, laboriously carrying on their shoulders a long barrel containing the water required for domestic purposes. At intervals you meet strangers who come to satisfy a devotional feeling, or to visit some Lama of their acquaintance."—Vol. ii. pp. 38—39.

Père Huc's party were fortunate in having an opportunity during their stay at Kounboun, of witnessing the Feast of Flowers, which is the most celebrated, as well as the most curious of all the Lamaite ceremonials, which is no where celebrated with so much pomp as in the Lamasery, where

they had happily fixed their abode. We make no apology for the length of the following most lively and entertaining description.

"We were installed at Kounboun on the sixth of the first moon, and already numerous caravans of pilgrims were arriving by every road that led to the Lamasery. The festival was in every one's mouth. The flowers, it was said, were this year of surpassing beauty; the Council of the Fine Arts, who had examined them, had declared them to be altogether superior to those of preceding years. As soon as we heard of these marvellous flowers, we hastened, as may be supposed, to seek information respecting a festival hitherto quite unknown to us. The following are the details with which we were furnished, and which we heard with no little curiosity:—

"The flowers of the fifteenth of the first moon consist of representations, profane and religious, in which all the Asiatic nations are introduced with their peculiar physiognomies and their distinguishing costumes. Persons, places, apparel, decorations—all are formed of fresh butter. Three months are occupied in the preparations for this singular spectacle. Twenty Lamas, selected from among the most celebrated artists of the Lamasery, are daily engaged in these butter-works, keeping their hands all the while in water, lest the heat of the fingers should disfigure their productions. As these labours take place chiefly in the depth of the winter, the operators have much suffering to endure from the cold. The first process is thoroughly to knead the butter, so as to render it firm. When the material is thus prepared, the various portions of the butter work are confided to various artists, who, however, all alike work under the direction of a principal who has furnished the plan of the flowers for the year, and has the general superintendence of their production. The figures, &c., being prepared and put together, are then confided to another set of artists, who colour them under the direction of the same leader. A museum of works in butter seemed to us so curious an idea, that we awaited the fifteenth of the moon with somewhat of impatience.

"On the eve of the festival, the arrival of strangers became perfectly amazing. Kounboun was no longer the calm, silent Lamasery, where everything bespoke the grave earnestness of spiritual life, but a mundane city, full of bustle and excitement. In every direction you heard the cries of the camels and the bellowing of the long-aired oxen on which the pilgrims had journeyed thither; on the slopes of the mountain overlooking the Lamasery, arose numerous tents wherein were encamped such of the visitors as had not found accommodation in the dwellings of the Lamas. Throughout the 14th, the number of persons who performed the pilgrimage round the Lamasery was immense. It was for us a strange and painful spectacle to view that great crowd of human creatures prosstrating themselves at every step, and reciting in under tones their

form of prayer. There were among these Buddhist zealots a great number of Tartar-Mongols, all coming from a great distance. They were remarkable, alike, for their heavy, awkward gait, and for the intense devotion and scrupulous application with which they fulfilled the exact rules of the rite. The Houg-Mao-Eul, or Long Hairs, were there too, and, their manners being in no degree better here than at Tang-Keou-Eul, the haughty uncouthness of their devotion presented a singular contrast with the fervent, humble mysticism of the Mongols. They walked proudly, with heads erect, the right arm out of the sleeve and resting on their sabre hilts, and with fusils at their backs. The Si-Fan of the Amdo country formed the majority of the pilgrims. Their physiognomy expressed neither the rough recklessness of the Long Hairs, nor the honest good faith and good nature of the Tartars. They accomplished their pilgrimage with an air of ease and nonchalance which seemed to say, 'We are people of the place; we know all about the matter, and need not put ourselves at all out of the way.'

"The head-dress of the Amdo women occasioned us an agreeable surprise; it was a little bonnet of black or grey felt, the form of which was identical with that of the bonnets which were once all the fashion in France, and which were called, if we remember aright, *Chapeaux à la Trois pour cent*. The only difference was, that the riband by which the bonnet was tied under the chin, instead of being black, was red or yellow. The hair was allowed to fall from under the bonnet over the shoulders, in a number of minute braids, decorated with mother-of-pearl and coral weeds. The rest of the costume was like that of the Tartar women, the weighty effect of the great sheep-skin robe being, however, mightily modified by the little *Chapeaux à la trois pour cent*, which communicates a most coquettish air. We were greatly surprised to find among the crowd of pilgrims several Chinese who, chaplet in hand, were executing all the prostrations just like the rest. Sandara the Bearded told us they were Khata merchants, who, though they did not believe in Buddha at all, pretended intense devotion to him, in order to conciliate custom among his followers. We cannot say whether this was calumny on Sandara's part; but certainly his representation concurred altogether with our knowledge of the Chinese character.

"On the 15th, the pilgrims again made the circuit of the Lamasery, but by no means in such numbers as on the preceding days. Curiosity impelled the great majority rather towards the points where preparations were making for the Feast of Flowers. When night fell, Sandara came and invited us to go and see the marvellous butter works of which we had heard so much. We accordingly proceeded with him, accompanied by the Stutterer, the Kitat-Lama, and the Chabi, leaving old Akayé to take care of the house. The flowers were arranged in the open air, before the various Buddhist temples of the Lamasery, and displayed by illumi-

nations of the most dazzling brilliancy. Innumerable vases of brass and copper, in the form of chalices, were placed upon slight framework, itself representing various designs; and all these vases were filled with thick butter, supporting a solid wick. The illuminations were arranged with a taste that would have reflected no discredit on a Parisian decorator.

"The appearance of the flowers themselves quite amazed us. We could never have conceived that in these deserts, amongst a half savage people, artists of such eminent merit could have been found. From the paintings and sculptures we had seen in various Lamaseries, we had not in the slightest degree been led to anticipate the exquisite finish which we had occasion to admire in the butter works. The flowers were bas-reliefs, of colossal proportions, representing various subjects taken from the history of Buddhism. All the personages were invested with a truth of expression that quite surprised us. The features were full of life and animation, the attitudes natural, and the drapery easy and graceful. You could distinguish at a glance the nature and quality of the materials represented. The furs were especially good. The various skins of the sheep, the tiger, the fox, the wolf, &c., were so admirably rendered, that you felt inclined to go and feel them with the hand, and ascertain whether, after all, they were not real. In each bas-relief you at once recognised Buddha, his face, full of nobleness and majesty, appertained to the Caucasian type; the artists conforming therein to the Buddhist traditions, which relate that Buddha, a native of the Western Heaven had a complexion fair, and slight, tinged with red, broad, full eyes, a large nose, and long, curling, soft hair. The other personages had all the Mongol type, with the Thibetian, Chinese, Si-Fan, and Tartar shadings, so nicely discriminated that, without any reference whatever to the costume, you recognised at once to what particular tribe each individual belonged. There were a few heads of Hindoos and negroes, excellently represented. The latter excited a good deal of curiosity among the spectators. These large bas-reliefs were surrounded with frames, representing animals and flowers, all in butter, and all admirable, like the works they enclosed, for their delicacy of outline and the beauty of their colouring. On the road which led from one temple to another, were placed at intervals, small bas-reliefs representing, in miniature, battles, hunting incidents, nomadic episodes, and views of the most celebrated Lamaseries of Thibet and Tartary. Finally, in front of the principal temple, there was a theatre, which, with its personages and its decorations, were all of butter. The *dramatis personæ* were a foot high, and represented a community of Lamas on their way to solemnize prayer. At first, the stage is empty, then, a marine conch is sounded, and you see issuing from two doors, two files of minor Lamas, followed by the superiors in their state dresses. After remaining, for a moment, motionless on the stage, the procession disappears at the sides, and

the representation is over. This spectacle excited general enthusiasm ; but, for ourselves, who had seen rather better mechanism, we regarded these mannikins, that moved on the stage and then moved off it without stirring a limb, as decidedly flat. One representation of the play, therefore, amply sufficed for us, and we went about admiring the bas-reliefs."—Vol. ii. p.39—43.

The reader who has been at Rome on Easter Saturday will not fail to remember a singular parallel for this curious festival, in the fantastic decorations of the provision dealers' [*pizzicaroli*] shops upon that day, the last of the season of Lent, which is so adverse to their trade, and the close of which is therefore to them a season of special jubilation. The windows, shelves, and counters, are decorated with groups modelled, like the Lamas' flowers, in butter, a material more appropriate to the profession of the *pizzicarolo*. "Daniel in the Lions' Den," "Jonas and the Whale," "Joseph sold by his Brethren," appeared, from whatever cause, to be favourite subjects; and the execution of the figures, the classic elegance of the design, the grace and expressiveness of the attitudes, are in almost every case worthy of a less perishable material. Certainly the analogy with the similar festival of the Tibetan Lamas struck us, in reading M. Huc's account of this curious Feast of Flowers, as exceedingly singular, the more remarkable, too, as the material is in both cases apparently so inappropriate, that the very coincidence in its selection can with difficulty be conceived to be the result of pure accident.

But we must draw to a close, and we will confess that it is with great reluctance we take our leave of M. Huc. We had noted many curious particulars which we regret to be obliged to leave unrecorded—the social and religious ceremonies of Tibet; the rites of marriage; the various forms of sepulture, from embalmment, as in the case of the Talé Lama, down to the being devoured by the sacred dogs, maintained as the living sarcophagi of the ordinary faithful; the studies and preparatory training of the Lamas; the singular forms of medical treatment in various diseases; the exorcisms and miraculous cures; the games and amusements of the people; and, in a word, the miscellaneous, social, and religious observances which prevail among this singular people. For all these we can but refer to M. Huc's lively and interesting, as well as most instructive narrative. Even as a mere book of travel, we

have not met for a long time any work which approaches it in interest. There is a simple grace and liveliness about the narrative, which charms even for itself; while there is a freshness and vigour in its tone that cannot fail to excite the interest even of the most palled and sated appetite for adventure. It reminds us forcibly of old Father Dobrizhofer's book on Paraguay. With but little of scientific pretension, it is full of facts to interest the zoologist,* the mineralogist, and the lover of botanical science; while the sketches of scenery, of costume, of manners, characters, and institutions, are indiscribably vivid and forcible. It is impossible to mistake the impress of truthfulness which all this bears. Indeed, the absence of everything like searching after sentiment, of straining for effect, and of every other form of literary ambition would in itself disarm the suspicion even of the most sceptical reader.

There is a slight promise held out in a postscript, that we may yet here more from this graceful and lively writer. We cannot but express our earnest hope that it may be soon and often.

* We regret that it is impossible to find space for the account (ii. 245-9.) of the animal long deemed fabulous, but whose existence is now demonstrated beyond all shadow of doubt—the unicorn, called in the language of the country, *serou* or *tchirou*, and seen in the naturalist's nomenclature, known as the Antelope Hodgsonii from Mr. Hodgson, the British resident at Nepaul, by whom its existence has been established.

We may add here also, for the benefit of our Scottish readers, that the well-known device of the stuffed calf (Scotticé Tulchau) so famous in Scottish Reformation history, is in use among the shepherds of Tartary and Tibet.

- ART. II.—1. *Von Babylon nach Jerusalem.* VON IDA GRAFIN HAHN HAHN. Mainz, Verlag von Kirchheim und Schott. 1851. [*From Babylon to Jerusalem.* By IDA COUNTESS HAHN HAHN. Mayence.] 12mo. pp. 247.
2. *Unsrer Lieber Frau.* VON IDA GRAFIN HAHN HAHN. Mainz, Verlag von Kirchheim und Schott. 1851. [*To our Blessed Lady.* By IDA, COUNTESS HAHN HAHN. Mayence.] 18mo. p. 142.
3. *Aus Jerusalem.* VON IDA GRAFIN HAHN HAHN. [*From Jerusalem.* By IDA COUNTESS HAHN HAHN.] Mayence, Kirchheim und Schott. 1851. 12mo. p. 179.
4. *Babylon and Jerusalem.* A Letter addressed to Ida, Countess of Hahn Hahn. From the German, with a preface by the Translator. London: J. W. Parker and Son, 1851. 18mo. p. 116.

WE are passing through a period of remarkable religious changes, and, we may add, of extreme religious fanaticism in England; and so deeply are we engaged in religious controversies, that our attention is wholly concentrated at home, while the great changes taking place in other countries are hardly noticed, even by the Argus eyes of the press. At all events, if conversions occur on the other side of the channel, they rarely excite much interest, unless they come from some far away and almost fabulous land, from the wilds of Patagonia, or the voluptuous isles of the south seas. Of Catholicity in Germany little is known in England: many times we have heard it affirmed, that the inhabitants of the Prussian states, and of all North Germany, were exclusively Protestant; and by some it is thought that our holy religion is as little tolerated there as it is in the more northern kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden. Yet German literature is at the present day not unknown, nay, we may venture to assert that a knowledge of the German tongue is now deemed almost a necessary accomplishment in many families, while a host of translations, good, bad, and indifferent, have introduced German authors to the English fireside. To many, therefore, the name of the authoress of the books here noticed will not be unknown, though she now appears before us in far different guise from all former occasions.

In this age of extraordinary alterations of religious views,

when unexpected conversions of some of the bitterest enemies of our faith have astonished the world, few have created more surprise in Germany, and wherever her former writings were known, than has the Countess Ida Hahn Hahn, by her entering the bosom of the Church. As soon would we have expected to hear that Madame Dudevant had taken the veil, and had avowed herself a Christian, as that the gay but petulant and sarcastic spirit of the authoress of the *Letters of a German Countess*, had submitted itself to the authority of the Church. We can in some measure understand how the earnest but bigoted Calvinist or Lutheran is rewarded for his sincere correspondence with the dim lights afforded by the religion he professes, and is led by a merciful Providence into the true path,—we know how the remorse engendered by an ill-spent life has conducted many within the pale of salvation; but of all whose conversion seems the most distant, the vain egotistical literary female, seeking a reputation in society by outraging its conventional rules, in her writings, if not by her personal conduct, would appear to us the furthest removed from the hopes of heaven. We can ourselves hardly recall an instance of this kind; and even where great and remarkable conversions have taken place it has rarely happened that the world has been favoured with an account of the convert's feelings and experience of the Catholic faith, especially in the case of lady authoresses, whose previous writings had exhibited a bold and somewhat doubtful morality. The retiring and penitent convert seeks then to escape the eyes of the world, the pen is laid aside for the crucifix and the rosary, and seldom are the workings of the heretofore perverted and demoralized mind presented to our view, so that we are enabled to study the wondrous operations of God's mercy in reclaiming the erring soul.

But the Countess Hahn Hahn was even, in her unbelieving days, remarkable for the boldness with which she supported and illustrated her doctrines, and now that she has become a Catholic the ancient courage seems not for an instant to have deserted her, and tempered but not blunted by religion, she resumes her pen, and lays bare to the astonished Protestant world the innermost recesses of her soul, candidly avowing her former errors, seeking not to palliate them, but exulting beyond measure in being at length relieved from their thralldom. With the Countess Hahn

Hahn writing is now a second nature, her pen flows with all the ease and grace that characterise the conversation of an accomplished woman, and though some may blame the haste with which she has brought her experiences of Catholicity before the world, she has, in reality, done no more than the fervent convert, who in the circle of her acquaintances and friends, cannot remain silent, but wishes all to partake of her happiness. The world of literature is the Countess's circle, she has gained the entrée by her former writings, she resumes her pen to counteract and, if possible, to efface the evil her works may have occasioned, and we ourselves are convinced, after an attentive perusal of the volumes before us, that they are not composed in the spirit of pride and arrogant assumption, but are so characterized by candour, sincerity, and truth, that it is impossible to deny that the authoress is speaking from the inmost depths of her heart. From the calm haven wherein at length she has moored her soul's long-tossed bark, from the rock of Peter, whereon she has fixed her dwelling, she looks back in sadness and grief on her former path, she exposes the errors into which she fell, she traces with a delicate but unerring hand the troubled workings of her awakening conscience, concealing nothing that may disparage her in the eyes of the world, solicitous only that the truth may be known, and careless of the judgments of her former admirers and associates.

As a writer of fiction, the talents of our authoress have, we think, been somewhat overrated. In these there was an obvious straining after effect, or rather to accomplish something the writer was not equal to, coupled with a deification of herself and of her own ideas, alike repulsive and tedious to the reader. As a descriptive traveller she is far above the average, as a novelist she is much inferior to her fatal prototype, George Sand. Both ladies* are, or at least were, most vehement upholders of the rights of women; both believed and maintained that the fair sex was kept in bonds of durance vile by the lords of the creation, and both devoted all their energies to the emancipation of woman from the trammels of conventional life, to which she had been unjustly and arbitrarily condemned from the beginning of the world.

* George Sand is the name assumed by Madame Dudevant in her writings.

The world read and admired her travels, they praised her pictures of society, and still more her descriptions of scenery and life; many read her novels, many blamed them for their light and flippant style; learned men smiled at her philosophical doctrines of the destinies of woman, but while they acknowledged that much might be ameliorated and improved as regards the education, influence, and position of the fair sex at the present day, they candidly avowed that the remedial measures proposed by the authoress, and by writers of her stamp, were perhaps more dangerous to society than the evils that were complained of. Nevertheless, we fully believe the Countess when she tells us that in all her writings she ever sought the truth, and most firmly do we credit her candid confession, that she never till now discovered the truth, that her soul could find no resting place, because she placed her hopes, not in God, but in her own self, and her own unaided powers of mind. In what a sea of troubles and contentions does she depict her soul to have been involved, while striving after contentment and happiness in the idolization of the talents God had bestowed upon her, forgetful all the while of the source from which they sprung, till it pleased God in His mercy to open her eyes, and to point out to her the error of those paths, and the futility of those objects she had hitherto pursued with so much energy and determination.

The two works at the head of this list are the indexes of the gradual progress of her mind from darkness to light. In the first volume, which tells of her journey from Babylon to Jerusalem, from Protestant darkness to Catholic light, she describes the early workings of grace, and the awakenings of conscience in her gifted mind, and then once arrived at the haven of the Church, she bursts forth in happy songs of triumph from the Jerusalem she has won, and adds all the energy and grace of her flowing sentences to sustain the cause she has embraced. Nor can we say that, although so successful in prose, Ida Hahn Hahn is deficient in the more perilous realms of poetry. Her theme, indeed, is one that would awaken the most slumbering talent. She sings the glories and the sorrows of the Mother of God, in the little volume dedicated to "Our dear Lady," (*Unsrer lieber Frau*). The subjects of her hymns and odes, if we may so term them, are taken from the Litany of Loretto, and gladly would we see that

noble litany paraphrased in English verse as has here been accomplished in the German tongue.

It will perhaps be said by some who read the above volumes, that the late fearful political convulsions of her unhappy fatherland have turned the authoress's brain; that, wounded in her aristocratic prejudices, by the forward progress of republican ideas and manners, she has turned in disgust from that liberty she formerly clamoured for, and has cast herself into the power of that Church where, according to Protestant writers, liberty of thought, and liberty of action are alike unknown. True it is, she has shrunk in horror from the republican atrocities of the last four years. Undeniably the Countess Hahn Hahn is an aristocrat by birth and predilection, but it is equally a truth, as she herself triumphantly declares, that she has never till now known what liberty was; that never till now has she been emancipated from the galling fetters of worldly pride.

"I believe, yes, I believe I have won the faith." With such words of joy and consolation does she commence the recital of her toilsome journey from Babylon to Jerusalem. Of her state of mind during this long period of tribulation we learn much from the earlier pages of the first volume, wherein she depicts her former negative belief.

"Oh yes, I believed, I believed in a God created by myself, and my reward was ashes; I believed in idols, and they crumbled into dust, or they sank into the grave, and my portion was ashes. They could not free my soul, they could not comfort it, they could not save it, they could not sanctify it, and my portion was ashes. My Lord and my God, with what grief do I now acknowledge, that for so long, long, a time I believed so deeply, so firmly, and so lovingly in a something, which Thou wert not, but which I, with blinded obstinacy, regarded as my God.—Oh that was indeed a fearful time, and scarce can I believe that I have only just emerged from its shadows. It seems to me as though I had passed through it hundreds of years ago, so distant does it appear, but yet not so remote, that I cannot calmly and clearly now contemplate the whole. It seems to me that I have passed my whole life, till within the last few months, in some deep subterranean grotto; I adorned my grotto to the best of my powers, I toiled with honest love and many warm tears to ornament its walls, ever deeming it to be a high and holy temple, and not a darkened cave. I lighted lamps and torches therein to make it bright as my spirit could accomplish, I brought flowers too, as many as my poor heart could gather.

And I raised altars therein, and sacrificed to my idols, to love, to truth, and to fame.

"Every person knows, every individual has felt the longing for love and for truth, but the burning thirst for fame—ah, that is indeed something rare. Few have experienced, fewer still have comprehended this impulse to exist beyond this mortal life in a sort of terrestrial immortality, to enjoy the fruits of great thoughts, of great deeds, and of undying works of prose or poetry. Few know this earnest longing to see, following the bark of life, a long sparkling streak, extending itself back over the ocean of time, or to have the spot whereon we moved in life, marked by some lasting sign which posterity will refer to us. I acknowledge myself to have felt this. I never thought of the triumph of the moment; I looked forward to an immortality of earthly fame. Alas! with what perishable means, with what fragile tools did I hope to carve out an everlasting name, if we may dare to apply the word everlasting to this world's immortality.

"These then were my idols, and with them I continued to dwell in my subterranean grotto. But the day of their destruction came."—p. 9.

The romantic fatherland of Germany was convulsed with hideous political revolutions, blood flowed on every side, Socialism and Infidelity marched hand in hand to the destruction of body and soul. All the authoress's fantastic dreams of the regeneration of mankind, all her aspirations for the freedom of her sex, were scattered to the winds, when Revolution stalked forth under the name of Liberty. While freedom of thought and of action were existing but on paper the theories looked fair and well, but once practically tried their hues soon changed from light to the darkest shadows.

But we are unwilling to leave unfinished the writer's beautiful simile of her grotto.

"The only exit from my cave opened by tortuous paths onto the summit of a mountain; I reached the entrance, I stood in the clear atmosphere, I inhaled the life-giving air under a heaven brilliant with stars, which were reflected a thousandfold in the boundless ocean at my feet. And I heard a voice near to me that said, 'This is the Church of Christ,' and I sank down and prayed. Since that hour all has been well. I have found God in revealed religion, I have found Him a God of love, and in revealed religion I put all my trust. But my former friends will say, 'Is not the Christian religion a revealed one, and were you not born and brought up in it, have you not professed it all your life?' 'Oh, no! True it is that I was born, was baptized, and was confirmed a Lutheran, but

how could I possess a revealed religion, when I did not possess a Church? Protestants, indeed, teach the existence of an invisible Church, a thing of high and mysterious meaning. Yet it is no easy task to realize this invisible church, to bring this doubtful theory or idea into living and reciprocal action. I, at least, have never understood it, have never realized it. It seems as though my soul had ever been a slumbering Catholic. In sleep we are not responsible, and when my soul awaked, she was Catholic, for Protestant doctrines she has never comprehended, never received, never converted into spiritual food. No echo replied, no note was struck, no responsive chord vibrated in my heart. Neither in my youth, nor yet in maturer years, did I find a resting-place for my religious feelings.

"I remember well the period of my confirmation in the Lutheran Church. I used to go in the afternoon to an old and worthy minister, to receive his instructions. The whole scene is still freshly pictured in my mind, the green painted room, the long writing-table, opposite to which we sat, the old man's kind face, with his white hair escaping from beneath his silken cap. It was winter, and opposite to the windows were some large leafless trees, whose branches were reflected on the opposite wall by the evening's sun. Rooks flew cawing around the venerable trees before settling there for the night. There was a certain heaviness in the atmosphere of the room, the invariable consequence of tobacco-smoke. All this I accurately remember, but of what I heard from the old pastor, I cannot recall a syllable. It has always appeared to me most strange that I never could recollect what I heard in these religious instructions, for I was then sixteen years old, my memory was good, nor was I without thirst for knowledge, or indisposed to hear of divine things. I only recollect that I listened most reverently to his words, and that I felt good and pious emotions, but I never could recall any one certain point of his instructions. It was as if I had even then a suspicion that all this was not the truth. Yet I well remember the words of the text, on which the old pastor preached on the day of our confirmation; it was from St. John: 'Remain ye in my love.' Thus I gathered up fragments of religion, and what but fragments could be expected of a system formed from these alone."—p. 13.

Our authoress next proceeds to contrast with the dubious belief of Protestants the strong and resolutely active faith of the much decried middle ages; but on this subject she speaks at much greater length in her succeeding volume, and our present object is to trace for our readers the wanderings of this gifted mind, till it found rest in the Church of Christ.

As a Lutheran she read and re-read the Holy Scrip-

tures, we suppose without note or comment, for in the inspired volumes she was told she would assuredly find her religion. She read all, both the Old and the New Testaments, again and again; she found them beautiful indeed, but could discover no fixed religious tenets, no positive guide. She was told that the Holy Spirit would enlighten her; she prayed, and read again, but the only enlightenment was that of her own will. The Bible as she then read it was a costly ornament, which the Protestants took with them when they left the Catholic Church, but which by itself, and without authoritative teaching, was a mere fragment of truth.

"I was soon convinced that man does not obtain the Holy Spirit through Bible reading alone. In this I was right; in the conclusions I drew from thence, I was lamentably wrong. I persuaded myself that each individual man could obtain his special divine revelation through the study of, and in communion with, Nature, beauty, and art; as also by reading the History of Nations, and encouraging in his mind high and noble ideas. I believe that in all and each of these there dwelt a ray of eternal truth, which corresponded to a similar ray imprisoned within our own souls, and which moved the latter to sound in accord, as the morning sun influenced the statue of Memnon, and that by such means man was brought into harmonious relation with the Creation and the Creator. Thus I became I may say a heathen, but I ever felt so strong a love for truth, that it was my constant endeavour to assimilate as closely as possible, my interior with my exterior life; I ever wrote as I thought, and spoke as I wrote; I lived as I spoke, and thought as I lived. They who were acquainted with me during the ten years that preceded 1848, will confirm this statement of mine. It is to me now a matter of wonder that so positive a character as mine could have been formed on no positive or fixed foundation, but to supply this want there was my inconceivable self-reliance, or to use a less refined, but more truthful expression, my immeasurable pride. Pride was the groundwork of my character, it was the basis, the pedestal, on which the fabric of my life was raised, and it gave me an unlimited desire for internal freedom from the external influences of men and things. I would not be the slave of the opinions of others, I would not flatter for praise, nor bow to avoid blame."—p. 30.

With all that the world could bestow, with friendship, riches, and earthly freedom, our poor authoress was never happy, for God had other designs in store. She herself tells us, that she had ever the feeling that her destiny was not fulfilled, that her race was not yet run, that the victory was not gained. And how could it be otherwise? She

had hitherto fought for a perishable name and standing. Her soul, she says, ever longed for the Divine, but it never burnt with zeal for the honour of God. Often did she tremble at the more and more evident falsehood of the idols to which she bowed, but the light of heaven was yet withheld. All her honours and all her pleasures were absorbed and lost in herself, they left no trace, no agreeable remembrance behind, and her wearied soul longed for that by which itself might be absorbed, and by which it might be rescued from its own weaknesses and delusions. Often did her fancy suggest that she was herself deceived, that this dissatisfaction, this distaste for earthly honours, might be produced by transitory influences, that it required only a steadfast opposition to be subdued.

In society, in scenery, in travelling, she found employment, but not repose. It was only, she acknowledges, when she sat down to write, that she ever felt isolated from the world, that she ever experienced a gleam of what she then thought to be the perfection of human bliss. While writing a book, she was entirely absorbed in her subject, her pride and vanity led her to believe that, this time at least, her pen would rouse the whole world; but the work once finished, all interest ceased, the fruit, as she elegantly says, had fallen from the tree on which it had grown, and had broken all connection with the parent stem. Whatever may be the opinion of the literary world, as to the merits of our authoress's former works, we firmly believe that they were all written to express the honest convictions of her heart. Her pen, as she tells us, was ever guided by the one hope and wish, to discern and describe the true object and end of life. What her ideas then were of the nature of man's obligations in this regard, we may learn from the following passages.

"The end of man is to arrive at inward peace. To accomplish this, he is, on the one hand, justified in every endeavour to work out and define his individuality and independence, but, on the other hand, he is called on to do this only within those limits prescribed by the rights of his fellow-men. He who knows accurately these limits, and develops himself within their bounds, lives in harmony with the end and aim of his existence, and cannot fail to win inward content of heart, for such will be produced within his own breast, independent of earthly happiness, for it springs from the harmony that exists between his duty and his will. But he that forgets his own rights, or those of others, will assuredly fail. Few

can reach this point without many failures and errors, none can attain to it without bitter griefs and troubles, but to fight one's way to this goal is the end and object of life."—p. 37.

We need not add that the above lines were written several years ago, and that our authoress only quotes them now, to shew the utter hollowness and insufficiency of her theories. She at once overthrows the whole fabric she had then so earnestly laboured to build up, by the simple question, "Who is to define the limits of the rights pertaining to individuals and to their neighbours? After devoting several pages to a masterly analysis of the motives and conduct of Luther and his followers, the Countess reviews the present state of German literature, and speaks of it, we think, more disparagingly than it deserves. At the same time, she candidly acknowledges that the leading literati of that country agreed in condemning her own works. But she has, since she became a Catholic, abjured the writing of novels and romances, she has now no special theories of human perfectibility and happiness to support.

"My books are now all sunk in the great antediluvian abyss which opened in the year 1848, and engulfed people of far different stamp than Faustine and Sybilla, and now it is no longer my vocation to write romances and novels. They are grown all strange to me, and often do I think of that fountain of Arethusa which disappeared in the classic lands of Greece, and passing beneath the sea, rose again in the fair rich lands of Sicily, where the gods loved it, and adorned its borders with flowers, and its waters with bright sunbeams. And I was sunk in an ocean of distress, whose waves rolled and roared so high above my head, that I deemed myself lost. And behold I emerged in a distant happy land, where everlasting light and undying beauty reigned; but it was no isle of the false gods, it was the kingdom of God, the church which alone hath power to save."—p. 68.

The consequences of her dogma, that each individual receives his own special revelation from heaven, soon reduced her to the conviction, that all systems of religion whatsoever had been at one time or other revealed to man, that all and each had lived their appointed day, and had then given place to other, and widely-differing revelations. Of her experiences and ideas of Catholicity, before her eyes were opened to the truth, we have many brief, but curious sketches. By a singular Providence, the first

Catholic church she ever entered, was the one in which, long, long years afterwards, she was received into the community of the faithful. This was the church of St. Hedwiges, at Berlin, but little impression did it then make upon her mind, save that she scanned it with curious eye, for she had been told that it was modelled after the Pantheon at Rome. Again, she was enraptured with the music of the Royal Chapel at Dresden, but the ceremonies of the mass were irksome to her, they were not understood, and remained unheeded.

It was not till she sojourned at Würzburg, in a Catholic land, that she first felt how truly our blessed religion is brought home to every heart by the way-side cross, the little votive chapel, the pilgrimage, or the august cathedral, filled with kneeling worshippers. Again, she removed to a village, where there was both a Protestant and a Catholic church. Here the contrast was still more palpable. The Catholic could attend the most solemn of the services daily, the Protestant temple was opened but once a week. Afterwards, she again removed into a society and land completely Protestant. But her heart, she acknowledges, never was at rest. Books of Protestant piety were dull, and gave her only unspeakable ennui. Her manuals even then, were Fenelon, the Following of Christ, and the Confessions of St. Augustine, and the last named work has evidently been her model in the volume we are now considering. Unhappy and dissatisfied, our authoress travelled to the East, to seek in the Holy Land, at the tomb of our Lord, and in the scenes of his labours, those feelings that refused to spring forth in Europe. It was in the land of Judea that light first gleamed upon the troubled soul; it was there that the idea of becoming a Catholic first arose.

"It was then that I first felt a regret that I did not belong to the Catholic Church. Up to that time I had indeed often thought, how beautiful it must be to have been born in the Catholic communion, but it was a passing thought, and nothing more. But now, that in the Holy Land, I was received with such hospitality in the houses for pilgrims, and when I looked on those humble fervent men, who had come from Spain and from Italy, and had studied the languages of the East, to instruct little children in the faith, and to aid the passing pilgrim, now that I saw the Catholic Church in her glory, viz., in her poverty and in her love, then did I begin to admire and esteem her. Every one desires a union with what

they love, but the thought of conversion had not entered my mind, and this desire excited in me only vain regrets. These thoughts first grew upon me as I dwelt in the cloisters of Mount Carmel."—p. 126.

Still, however, the conversion was far distant. Of a complete change of life, of that mighty transformation of the proud sinner into the humble penitent, she never dreamed. Up to the day of her reception into the Church, she had thirsted for the truth, she had sought it, she had never hitherto found it.

"In Mount Carmel I grieved that I was not a child born in the house of God. I felt an extraordinary reluctance and dread of attending Mass, yet I would so gladly have done so. I ever asked myself, 'What wouldst thou, a stranger, at the foot of this altar. Yet I understood nothing of the holy and tremendous mysteries there enacted, I would fain have asked an explanation of them but again arose this nameless dread, and this to me was the more incomprehensible, for I had never before been deterred from asking questions by a fear of betraying my own ignorance. There was so deep and awful a mystery in the rite, and was it fear of not understanding it, or was it a dread of some revelation jarring to my proud feelings that held me back? I know not, but I never asked for an explanation, and I never once attended mass while I was in the East. I would fain, when in Jerusalem, have had a mass said, as others did, in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but ever before me the thought arose, 'Thou art no member of this house of God.'

"An Anglican Bishop had just then been sent by the Protestant powers to Jerusalem, to attend to the spiritual wants of the Protestants in Syria, and possibly he fulfilled his office. But at the time that I was in Jerusalem, the good man had gone to the sea-coast, to attend upon his nine children, who were all ill of fever. Jerusalem, indeed, might have swarmed with Anglican bishops, before I should have sought out any of them. My ideas of bishops always led me back to St. Augustine, to St. Charles Borromeo, to Bossuet, and to Fenelon, these bishops I revered and loved, I was acquainted with their writings, they were far elevated above ordinary life, and the daily conversation of men. In them I discovered that celestial perfection which came up to the standard I had created. Thus a bishop had become for me the ideal of a perfect man. But what part could an Anglican bishop have in this my ideal. They might be honest, upright men, leading very respectable lives, but in no ways distinguished above their fellows; not victorious over the world and its follies, as my most reverend St. Augustine. It was the same with regard to the Protestant mission-

aries, those gentlemen in black surtouts, accompanied by their wives and children. How could they preach to unbelievers to leave all and follow the cross? What had they relinquished? what had they sacrificed? and who labours with good heart at any work for which he has made no sacrifices? My poor Franciscan Monks, with cowl and sack, wandering through Syria from Damascus to Ramla, they had made sacrifices, they had offered the utmost man can give, they had sacrificed themselves. What they had so long practised in their own persons, they could with justice recommend to others."—p. 133.

The Countess Hahn Hahn returned from the East to be involved in the troubles which, in 1844, began to agitate all Germany, in common with the rest of Europe. With her usual thirst for knowledge, and for the good of mankind, she seems now to have studied carefully several of the most celebrated Communistic and Socialist works, but dissatisfied with these, or rather, confirmed by their perusal, in her previous dislike for the doctrines they maintained, she turned for consolation to the works of Luther, but found, alas, no solace there; save the assurance of the perpetual priesthood of each individual Christian, obtained by his baptism. This idea pleased her greatly, for it confirmed her former theory of each individual being the subject of a special revelation from Heaven. The perusal of Luther's works, made her, she says, almost a Rationalist, and she was fast sinking into total indifference, when an event occurred in Northern Germany, which roused again the dormant good qualities of her soul. The Holy Garment of our Lord was exposed at Treves—thousands of all classes flocked to the High Festival; the religious enthusiasm of Germany was awakened, and miracles were reported on credible testimony to have been wrought. The wondrous faith of the assembled multitudes made a deep impression on our authoress. "It may not," thought she, "be the same garment which our Divine Saviour wore, but it is ever the same faith as that which conducted the sick woman to the feet of Christ, to touch the hem of his robe, and to be healed." Protestants sneered at the whole affair, they could not understand the practical, vivid faith of the Catholic. Divers English clergymen, not too well acquainted with the language of Germany, positively asserted in Bible meetings in England, that they had heard prayers addressed by the ignorant multitude to the Holy Garment itself!! A friend of ours took some pains

to investigate the truth of this assertion, by writing to the Archbishop of Treves upon the subject. The good prelate most kindly answered the enquiries, and stated, that the invocation to St. Rochus, "Heiliger Rochus bitt für uns," "Holy St. Roch pray for us," had been mistaken by sundry Protestants, for an invocation to the seamless garment of our Lord!! The difference of termination of the words, Rochus and Rock (garment) having conveniently escaped the prying ears of these reverend gentlemen. Strange, indeed, is the credulity of Protestants, when any thing is reported that can reflect discredit on the Catholic faith. They sneer at our belief in miracles, but on their own part, swallow most greedily the abundant tales, if they are but well spiced with the No Popery condiment.

"Innumerable Protestants," says our authoress, "maintain that the Catholic Church forces on the belief of her children the most unheard of and impossible tales, and that, moreover, even without the aid of the Inquisition, she exercises some hidden influence to constrain them to adopt implicitly every legend. Nothing can be more absurd! but Protestants are fully convinced thereof, for the Reformers and their successors have ever maintained that the Catholic Church has held her subjects in perpetual bondage, from which they were freed only by the light of the Reformation."—p. 154.

The unworthy comedy of Ronge, and his German Catholicism, followed close upon the Festival of the Holy Coat of Treves. Of this now almost forgotten and unhappy man, the Countess says:—

"I never looked upon Ronge but as a dry and withered leaf, whirling to the ground, from the Tree of the Church. The wretched man was regarded by unbelieving Protestants as an enlightened and exalted individual, destined to give the long-expected death blow to the Catholic faith, and thereby to uproot and destroy all religion. Some of the more serious Lutherans detested him, because he rejected all authority whatever. But how could they blame him, for discarding some or many articles of their belief, according to his own private interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, their only guide in matters of faith? Yet they would fain have praised him if they could, for he was a deserter from the standard of the Church. And there were many, even of the most sincere Protestants, who could not conceal their joy at the prospect of so serious a breach in the Church of Rome. There were fanatics, too,

and they were many, who exulted in the prospect of the disruption of all limits between the different confessions of faith, in the hope that out of their ruins, there would be established a universal and mystic brotherhood of mankind. But the real ground of Ronge's success was political opposition, for it was in religion alone that the German Governments allowed the bold spirit of liberalism to show itself, and to expend its virulence in attacks on particular creeds and particular churches. The spirit of opposition to the existing order of things, had taken such deep root in Germany, that almost all parties threw themselves at once into the ranks of the socialists and unbelievers, when a struggle arose against any established belief or dogma."—p. 156.

From incredulity, our authoress sought refuge in mysticism, and read with avidity, but with no good result, the curious works of Swedenborg. The few grains of gold she discovered in this singular man's writings, were so mingled with rubbish of the most worthless kind, that they did not repay the trouble of a search. By chance she met with, at this time, a work of Görres, on the same subject, she does not, she says, remember the title of the book, but it was no doubt, "*Die Christliche Mystik*," and this work pleased her much, it astonished her, but did not convince. Still, she now became aware, that when a Catholic undertakes to write upon the spiritual world, his words are clear and hope-inspiring, and immeasurably superior to the cold mysticism of Protestants. We may almost trace the influence of Görres' work in *Sybilla*, which the Countess Hahn Hahn wrote and published at this time.

Thus passed two years of inaction and bitterness, nay, of almost hopeless despair, for we can scarcely regard her state of mind during this period as otherwise. In the spring of 1846 she came to England. Among her friends, in this country, she seems to have been acquainted with a Catholic lady, who may really have exercised a secret influence on her subsequent career, for no proselytism is so efficacious as that of good example. The people of England pleased her, and the quiet aspect of English politics were, to her, a haven of rest, after the troubled upheavings of the revolutionary spirit in her fatherland. That she was perfectly correct in her appreciation of the political bearings of parties and measures in our country, we may be allowed to doubt, as for instance, she maintains that free-trade will destroy the principles of England's prosperity, by sapping the foundations of that oligarchy of wealth, on which she

believes England's weal to depend. It may be so, but the predilections are so evidently aristocratic, that they may, on this occasion, have warped her better judgment. It may be, however, that England is nearer to a mighty, and perhaps a forcible change than is generally believed, and assuredly it will be so, if the tide of infidelity is not stemmed and turned by the increase of the Catholic Faith. Of Protestant worship in England, our authoress gives the following impressions:—

"I had heard much of the majesty of the English Church. What pleased me were her mighty cathedrals, which stood empty, and her immense possessions, which greatly benefited the families of their owners. Amid the beauty and order which distinguishes every part of the Catholic Church, nothing has impressed me more forcibly than the regulation that her clergy may possess riches, but they are not to use or to enjoy them in a worldly sense. How striking is the contrast, when earthly goods are bestowed upon a man who must pass his life in the denial to himself of all earthly pleasures; who must daily seek to unite himself more closely with God, by the hourly sacrifice of his inclinations and desires. Such a man has no lovely wife to adorn with gay jewels, no son for whom he looks forward to a gay and brilliant life; no daughter to provide for by distinguished alliances. In the time present and in the time to come, he is alike alone, he has no cares for his successors, they are unknown to him. He sleeps, perhaps, on straw, and fasts like an anchorite, but still he may be rich. Of what use, then, are his riches? the Protestant may ask. Of what use! Why are there poor and miserable, and helpless, in this world, why are there desolate widows and orphans? For these, for their sakes, is such a man rich! Think you that the Poor laws and the State will take better care of them—has experience proved this to be the case? Riches are given to such a man that he may fulfil the words of Scripture, and possess them as though he possessed them not. In England, this intention is unknown; a bishop lives there in the midst of his family circle, like any other nobleman, and employs his wealth as other nobles do.

"The cathedrals of England are vacant, and it is right they should be so—they were built for the religion of the whole world, they are much too vast for any sect, still less for one already split into a thousand subdivisions. In the cathedral of York service was performed in the choir, and the nave was empty, and York and Durham, and Chester and Salisbury, gave me only the melancholy impression of being far removed from God. In Scotland I found the Presbyterian or Calvinistic confession of faith prevailing. It is impossible to give any idea of the utter dryness of this form of worship; my heart sinks within me when I recall the Sunday ser-

vice in Edinburgh, in a church without an altar, without an organ, without the smallest ornament, and crowded with closed pews, whose doors clanked horribly as the worshippers left or entered. There was first, a sermon ; then a psalm was read out of the Bible, next the same psalm was read in modern versification, and finally it was sung by the whole congregation. And so service ended. He who is a good Presbyterian, goes three times a day to his service. I was not surprised to hear that a great schism had arisen in this confession of faith, and that this schism, which had taken the name of the "Free Kirk," had met with extraordinary success. It had then lasted but four years, and already possessed 800 churches throughout the land. And what were these churches ? Four walls and long benches within, and besides these, nothing ! and this was all that the schismatics could contrive for the locality of their divine service. I have ever found it difficult to understand the worship that would render the house of God so desolate and dreary. Such churches can be only fitted for ghosts ; they cannot be for men of flesh and blood, with hearts and souls. Perhaps, however, it may be that they do not offer their hearts to God therein, and confide not their souls to his care. Such was, indeed, the case with John Knox, that strong-hearted Calvinist, who reduced his belief to a dry mummy, and reserved nothing of the immortal and almighty, but the eternal wrath of God against the damned ; that is, against all whom he (John Knox) himself condemned. It was with an indescribable sensation and satisfaction that I looked upon his statue in the cemetery at Glasgow. To that he belongs, said I, to the dead, not to the living."—p. 173.

Still our authoress does not deny the existence of a strong religious feeling in Great Britain, as is evinced by the constant formation of new sects, in the search after truth and content of heart.

From Great Britain the Countess passed into Ireland.

"In Ireland I saw the Catholic Church again in all her beauty, in poverty, contempt, and oppression ; in her priests I found holy men, full of apostolic love and charity. Words cannot describe their self-sacrifices, their uprightness and benevolence. With all the lights and shades of the Celtic character, clever, but unsteady in purpose, loving and hating with equal intensity, yet do the Irish ever look up to the priest, as the bright sun's ray that cheers their miserable existence. Without the Catholic Church, Ireland would be a howling wilderness, for the Church alone possesses and exerts the power of healing Ireland's wounds. I grant, however, that had the Irish not been Catholics, their country would not have been treated, for the last three-hundred years, as the step-child of England, it would have escaped the bondage and the unrighteousness

that have run riot there. I have ever observed that love increases in proportion to what is suffered for the sake of the object beloved. Can we then wonder at the love of the poor Irish for their Church? when we think of what they have suffered in her behalf. Protestants speak with horror of the revocation of the edict of Nantes by Louis XIV., but a hundred years subsequent to that period, the Irish Catholics were treated with such barbarous cruelty, as has rarely been witnessed even in those lands where slavery prevails. The oppressions exercised upon the Jews in the middle ages were continued on the Catholics of Ireland. And now-a-days England would fain heal with showers of gold the wounds inflicted by former governments. But no! it is too late; Ireland is to England as the vulnerable heel to Achilles, and the life-blood of Great Britain is flowing from the wounded part."—p. 177.

Of the influence of the Irish clergy during the awful famine year of 1847, our authoress was an eye witness. With the sermons and administrations of the Irish parish priest she was enchanted, but, though almost convinced, her pride still held her back. It is evident, however, to us, that it was the Catholicity of Ireland, the suffering, humble, and fervent faith of the people, and the noble self-devotion and undying zeal of her clergy, that produced the Countess Hahn Hahn's final conversion. Her incredulity was now dissipated, she saw religion humble, yet energetic, upholding the starving people, and guiding them through bitter famine and privations to the gates of heaven. She longed now to be a Catholic, but could not decide on the final step. Often, as she tells us, she has sat throughout a whole sermon in a densely crowded Church, and wept till she was weary, that all she heard was not addressed to herself, that she bore no part therein. Returning to Germany, the good impressions she had received in the Isle of Saints seemed to have sunk yet deeper into her soul. Still, though she felt the force of truth, she resolutely disavowed the thought of becoming a convert; her heart was convinced, her will remained stubborn. The troubles of the year 1848 drove her from Germany to the south of Europe.

"I passed the winter of the year of shame, 1848, in Palermo and Naples, both at that time shaken to the foundations by the storm of the Revolution. Here, as elsewhere, the revolutionary spirit showed itself by daily increasing outcries against all who stood in the way of its designs. The Revolutionists calumniated, they fabricated falsehoods, and proclaimed them, till the bewildered

populace believed their words, and became the ready instruments of their nefarious intrigues. On the 11th of March, 1848, I stood at my balcony on the *Sta. Lucia*, looking out upon the stormy gulf, whose waves broke angrily against the Quay. I was watching for a ship about to leave the harbour. The king of Naples had, the day before, commanded the Fathers of the Society of Jesus to leave the capital and the country within twenty-four hours, and this, too, without apparent cause, and without a hearing; but in obedience to the levelling cries of a few hundred paid partisans. At length the elegant steamer moved slowly out through the tumbling sea, and took its way along the coast. The whole Jesuit body were on board. The Fathers stood upon the deck, dark earnest forms, and seemed to look upon their future fate with as little concern as they gazed upon the shrieking mob. They had left their house and their daily occupations, with the same submission as they now embarked on the stormy sea to go into banishment. It was a majestic sight, to look upon these 115 men of God, crowded like slaves on the narrow deck, yet all quiet and peaceable, as though bound but on a pleasure excursion to Capri. In like way, and by the same party, they were banished from every land of Europe where the Revolution triumphed. The cry of a Jesuit ("un capellone," as they were called from the large hats they wore), was at all times sufficient to let loose upon them a storm of popular fury, and to cause them to be hunted like noxious reptiles from the face of day. But on they ever went, with the same majestic tranquillity, as men knowing that they were strangers on earth, but servants of the living God. On that same evening that the Fathers departed from Naples, the Lazzaroni rose in rebellion, in an outburst of fury and despair at the lot of their helpless children, for twelve hundred of these had been educated by the Fathers in their college, and were now cast adrift upon the world. But, less fortunate than the Revolutionists, the poor Lazzaroni were shot down in scores by the troops, and the riot was soon quelled.

"The owner of the villa, which some weeks later we inhabited at Sorrento, told us, that on the occasion just described an emissary of the Revolutionist party came to him with the joyous news, that these 'black vermin' ('Schwarze Ungeziefer') were now banished from the whole kingdom; and that it was the duty of the people of Sorrento to see that they should no longer remain in that town, but be made to depart at once, so that they might not have time to pack up and carry off their treasures along with them. The people of Sorrento are a race of honest, laborious, agriculturists, who were in no ways indisposed towards the good Fathers, nor towards their schools, of which they had one there, as in every place where they resided. Still there were certain worthless men in the village, and for worthless men the doctrines of the Revolution are exactly suited, so that in these individuals the Emissary found ready support. They clamoured so loud and so long, and

swore, in case of non-compliance, such bitter vengeance against all Sorrento, that the better disposed part of the population at length determined to proceed to the Jesuit's house, and to ask them to depart forthwith. 'We did so with tears in our eyes,' said the narrator. The Fathers instantly hired a vessel, and left Sorrento without making the least preparation for their departure. And now the greedy and curious rabble rushed into their house, to seize the treasures they had left behind. What did they find? Nothing but the plainest furniture, and the Macaroni they had prepared for their daily meals!"—p. 105.

Such were the feelings of our authoress, while yet a Protestant, towards these holy men, who have ever, like their Divine prototype, been a stumbling block for the bad and evil disposed. It was the inconceivable fidelity with which they followed out their objects of promoting the glory of God and the salvation of men, that so deeply struck her heart, but of their religious zeal, of their deep earnest piety, she understood nothing. The unaltered position and objects of the Jesuit Fathers, formed a mighty contrast in her mind, with the variations and contradictions of Lutheranism.

In Italy our authoress was not happy; the Church ceremonies were not comprehended, they failed to edify her, or to excite her devotion. The crowds in the Sixtine chapel, and in St. Peter's at Easter, distracted and annoyed her. "I believe," says she, "that I expected too much spirituality among the masses, and brought none on my own part."

On her return to Germany, in 1849, she attended Mass every Sunday in Dresden, and was dissolved in tears. She could not then understand why she was so vividly affected, now she knows it to have been the charity of God working on her inmost soul. She loved to kneel in the sacred edifice, and to pray timidly for light and help. Her soul was moved, but not subdued. She left Dresden and spent the summer in Holstein, in a deceitful repose. In October 1849 she returned to Dresden. On entering her apartments, she opened the copy of the Scriptures which had accompanied her in her journey to the east, and read therein the words of the Prophet Isaiah, "Arise, let there be light, O Jerusalem, for thy light approacheth, and the majesty of the Lord shall overshadow thee." Long and silently did she ponder on these words, as applicable to her distracted mind; a ray of the Divine truth

gleamed upon her soul, and directed her to do what she had not before thought of, to investigate and compare the dogmas of her own creed with those of the Catholic Church. Taking the catechisms of Luther, and Bockel's exposition of the doctrines of the evangelical and reformed Churches, she read these, and then the canons and decrees of the Council of Trent. This was enough; no other but the Catholic faith bore the test of impartial examination, and early in January 1850, the Countess Ida Hahn Hahn was received into the society of the faithful in that very Church, St. Hedwiges, at Berlin, where she had first, as an ignorant child, witnessed but not understood the awful mysteries of the Unbloody Sacrifice.

A few months now elapsed; a storm of abuse was poured upon her by her former friends, but her muse was silent, till it burst forth in the sweet little volume of hymns in praise of the Mother of God. Again a short silence, and then there appeared the volume dated from the haven she had won, "*Aus Jerusalem.*" How joyful a change is there here. No longer have we the picture of a soul distracted by doubts and difficulties, the struggle is past, the prize of faith is gained. The habit of talking of herself, and of her own feelings, or of the one absorbing object, has now given place to the most humble and happy exposition of the wonders and the plenty of God's house in our holy Church, mingled with the sweet regret so admirably expressed by the words, "Too late have I known thee, oh ancient truth, too late have I loved thee, oh ancient beauty." It seems to her, she says, as if from a beggar she had suddenly been raised to the dignity of a queen, as if from abject poverty she had at once come into the possession of immeasurable riches. Yes, riches indeed, riches without the cankering cares that accompany worldly wealth, riches alike boundless and everlasting. But we have no space for even a brief sketch of the contents of this admirable volume, wherein the pen of our happy authoress flows on, as if guided by the spirit of divine love itself. The Catholic Church of Germany has, she observes, come forth purified and exalted from the political troubles of the two preceding years, she has raised herself above all, even above revolutionary hate. In a few vigorously written pages she follows up an onslaught on modern Socialist opinions, by a vivid exposition of the advantages possessed by our holy Church in her sacra-

ments; and then, by an easy transition, she passes to the one great object to which she had formerly devoted all her energies, and for which she has at last found a remedy, to the means of alleviating the present condition of her own sex. The evils she had so forcibly depicted and so fiercely struggled against, can be, and are relieved by the Catholic Church alone. The dignity conferred on woman by the elevated position and wondrous virtues of the virgin Mother of God, by the innumerable martyrs, by the holy virgins consecrated to heaven, and above all, by the sanctification of marriage as a sacrament, and as an indissoluble tie, these have raised woman to her proper place; while the loss of these in the Protestant confessions, the laxity of the marriage tie, by allowing freedom of divorce, all now threaten to reduce the weaker sex to a position little better than that they held under the rule of pagan Rome. In the Catholic Church, in her sacraments, in her cloistered convents, the Countess Hahn Hahn proclaims that she has discovered the true balsam for all these festering wounds of society. We who are in the Church know this to be true, but seldom have we read language more eloquent and convincing than hers on this subject.

Since the above notice of the Countess Hahn Hahn's recent publications was written, we have perused an English translation of a work, entitled, "*Babylon and Jerusalem*," and of which the German original is said to be from the pen of a Lutheran divine, the Rev. Dr. Nitsch, of Berlin. This little volume is but one of the numerous replies and apologies, that the bold confessions, and caustic satire of our authoress have called forth in Germany. We select this one for our notice, not certainly on account of the accuracy and clearness of the translation, or from sympathy with the translator's hostile and bitter feelings towards Catholicity; but as a curious document, more illustrative of the present condition of Lutheranism in Germany, than any work that has appeared in England since that of the Rev. Hugh James Rose. A very moderate, and in many respects, impartial notice of this work, appears in the 76th No. of the *Ecclesiastic*, for April, 1852, though the writer has some difficulty in the conflicting claims of the Puseyite portion of the English Church, as contrasted with the avowedly Protestant feeling, and undeniable sympathy for Luther and his doctrines, which characterises the great majority of his fellow-countrymen.

Common report in Germany ascribes the above named essay to Dr. Nitsch, of Berlin, a leading clergyman of what may be termed, the enlightened Lutheran school; a school, whose religious belief is scarcely more Christian, than was that of the Countess Hahn Hahn, before her conversion. Were the contents of this little volume as abusive and virulent as is the preface by the English translator, we should have passed it over in silence, but the writer throughout evinces a tone of kindness and amiability, which, in spite of the errors of his doctrines, cannot fail to command our consideration and respect. At the same time he makes such full confessions of the prostrate condition of Protestantism in Germany, and admits so fully the majesty and the unity of our Church, that we might almost hope he would follow the example of the Countess, were it not for the evident latitude of his sentiments regarding doctrinal points, and the fatal error prevailing throughout the work, that Confessions of Faith, that one Faith, and one Baptism, are of little or no moment, so long as we have "Our Jerusalem within us," in a word, so long as we are individually justified by the belief in Christ. Dr. Nitsch, it seems, can pray as well in the majestic Church of St. Peter's at Rome as in the Lutheran temples at Berlin, nay, it would even appear that, going far beyond his most liberal-minded members of the Protestant Church, he ventures, without fear of blasphemy, to address the angelic salutation to the Blessed Mother of God.

"'I surely,' says he, 'am the last man to accuse you for having entered a Romanist Chapel for the purpose of prayer. I myself have done the same, when, in the crowded city, or on the solitary country road, I passed the open doors of a Catholic Church or Chapel. I have said my 'Ave Maria' when passing your image of the Madonna, whose lamp cast a shimmer of comfort and consolation through the gloom of night, a type of that silent uninterrupted heart's prayer, the yearning of every created being in its aspirations to the world beyond. The greeting which the angels addressed to the Holy Virgin, is surely permitted to mankind, and we may utter it, whenever we see her image, without thereby becoming guilty of idolatry.'"—p. 45.

Dr. Nitsch blames the Countess Hahn Hahn for having been too precipitate with her pen after her conversion, he thinks she cannot as yet have become thoroughly ac-

quainted with Catholicity; he is evidently a stranger to the rapid workings of the Holy Ghost in a converted soul. Yet he acknowledges that the Authoress is not to be judged by the standard of "our demure German housewives, whose sphere of action is confined to the kitchen, the embroidery frame, and the tea table.".....To the Countess, as we have before remarked, writing has become a second nature; her pen flows as easily, nay, far more easily than words from the lips of an ordinary person, nor can we blame her, if, in her exultation at having discovered the truth, she proclaims it to the world, and invites all to share with her the prize.

Nor can we agree with Dr. Nitsch, when he reproaches her for her open, candid, confession, that even when, from reasoning upon the doctrines, and studying the excellencies of our Church, she had decided on embracing the true faith, she was yet a stranger to that thorough change of heart, without which no conversion can be said to be complete.

"'For,' says the Countess in her first work, 'when my resolution to become a convert was firmly established, I had not the remotest idea of a radical reformation and renovation of my life. I was far too much in love with myself. What impelled me was my desire for truth, and again for truth, for imperishable, eternal truth, truth not self-created, and not depending upon my own whims, passions, and sorrows. *But the moment* I belonged to the Church, literally from that moment, all was changed! Of course, for it was truth that I desired, and here I stood in its centre. I saw in its light, and first of all I saw myself, and then, of course, I could be no longer satisfied with myself. This is the commencement of a conversion, and for this I had not previously been prepared.'"—p. 11.

Commenting on this passage, Dr. Nitsch declares the authoress to have become, first a Romanist, and then a Christian. Are Romanists then not Christians, in the eyes of this enlightened follower of Martin Luther? Such would seem here to be his meaning, yet again and again, in other parts of his letter, he allows salvation to be perfectly attainable in our Church.

"I would not, if I could," says he, "convert a Romanist to Protestantism, but I should like to prevent any Protestant from turning a Romanist."—p. 101.

And again:—

"I say that your happiness is caused by your having really and

truly entered into the only blessed Church, namely, into the kingdom of God, which is not here or there, not in Babylon or in Jerusalem, but in the heart of mankind; in Babylon and in Jerusalem, among the Protestants, and among the Romanists. I believe that you have not only become a Romanist, but also a Christian; and if Romanism for you was a way and condition, I am surely the last man to quarrel with you or with the Roman Catholic Church. On the contrary, I shall be happy if many more go that way."—p. 10.

"I believe, not only that when you adopted Romanism, you had no idea of a conversion and internal renovation, but I believe also that that step became for you the commencement of a conversion and renovation. I believe that the prize you have grasped will be lasting, and no matter whether you take the veil, or whether you remain in the world, that you will always be a Christian. And I am inclined to consider it as a good sign, that you say very little on the subject of your conversion and thorough renovation. Through all the *I*, and *Me*, and *My*, and *Mine*, of your book, there sounds a still small voice of love and faith, and one that must proceed from the Spirit of God."—pp. 12—13.

It is strange, indeed, how the author of this letter, candid as he seem to be, and ready to acknowledge the utterly prostrate condition of the Lutheran Church of Germany, obstinately shuts his eyes to the visible existence of Christ's Church in the faith of Rome, and takes refuge at every turn, and after every fresh concession, in the fatal error, that the Church of God exists only in the individual man.

He upholds in its full extent the arch-Protestant dogma as he calls it, (p. 79,) that we are justified by faith alone, nay, he assures us, it is not a dogma, it is not part and parcel of a system, *it is the statement of a fact*. True he qualifies this sweeping assertion, as the reviewer in the *Ecclesiastic* remarks, by saying that it is equivalent to a vindication of the necessity of individual personal earnestness in religion, as though (remarks the same reviewer,) there were no devout Roman Catholics!

With great justice he declares the belief in the "Real Presence" to be the ground-work and the main-spring of Catholic unity and piety, and there are few passages in the works of the ablest Catholic writers, which surpass the following in beauty of description.

"No matter whether mass be celebrated before and by the Pope, with all the paraphernalia of a surcharged ceremonial, or by the most careless priest in the poorest tumble-down shed of a chapel, it

is always that one real deed of sacrifice, joining heaven and earth, and man and God. And this sacrifice is brought by the Church, no matter whether or not the priest believes in it (?), no matter whether the faithful of all nations kneel around the steps of the altar, or whether the congregation is represented by a village boy in a surplice, whose thoughts are of his wild plays and pranks rather than of the mystery at which he is assisting. And whoever approaches such an act, which a few shillings may purchase from the priest, enters into the presence, into the renovated, immediate revelation of God. The very question, *'e buona ancora?* with which the Romans rush to mass, and by which they mean to ask, whether or not the great act of the transubstantiation has been performed, expresses that miraculous and powerful reality, against which no profanation can prevail. In this reality, not in pictures, music, and the olla podrida of sensual impressions, lies that deep miraculous charm of Roman Catholic worship, which makes its way even to the heart of Protestants. And the unsatisfactory character, the coldness of Protestant worship, has its profoundest, and most essential reason, not in the absence of outward show, not in the bare walls, not in the want of symbols and images, nor indeed in the (sometimes) gross tastelessness of the chanting, and the milk and water character of the sermons; but in the absence of anything like a real and actual service, in the want of anything like the consciousness of a practical action on the part of man, and of a practical revelation on the part of God.

“Deprive the Roman Catholic Church of the act of the mass, and its sacrifice and service will fall to the ground; its vast number of types, symbols, and allegorical ornaments will prove more stale and disgusting than the soberest and saddest form of Protestant worship. It is in the sacrifice of the mass that this principle of the Roman Catholic Church, namely, the plenary incarnation of the spirit, has found its culminating point, inasmuch as the sacrifice of the Host is neither a symbol nor a parable, but a real completed and perfect action; and further, inasmuch as the consecrated Host contains the presence of God in flesh and blood, in spite of the contradictory outward appearance of bread, and independent of the assistance of individuals and of the community. The Word becomes flesh—not in the communicant, but in the consecrated Host; that is the essential fact; the dogma of the transubstantiation is merely its logical explanation. This feature, viz., the perfect and lasting incarnation of the Spirit, pervades the Church—not by connecting it with things divine, and with the heavens, but by saturating it with divine influence, and so to say, transubstantiating God into the world, and life. And hence the Roman Catholic Church has been able to increase the sacraments to the number of seven: nay, more, it has been able to promote matrimony to the rank of a sacrament; that is to say, to a mystery which contains the Spirit

of God, and the practical reality of life, in an indivisible and immediate union and unity; while all the Protestant church could do, was to sanctify matrimony by an additional religious ceremony. Hence, there dwells within the Roman Church, not only the faculty, but also the necessity of absorbing the life of man, of lording it over sciences, arts, and political societies. Hence, that Church must be the only blessing, the one and sole Church of the universe. Hence, it is the eternal Church, with an uninterrupted bodily and historical continuity, and hence also does it follow, that it cannot make a sacrifice of one jot of its organism, and abate none of its claims, although it may admit of a variety within its unity, provided that all its organs remain in full and uninterrupted communication with its heart and centre.—p. 60—63.

Would it be believed, that he who can write under so awful an impression of the majesty and of the operation of the doctrine of the Real Presence in our Church, would coolly declare, a few pages later, that the whole is a monstrous fabrication, that it is the last and extremest error of the Catholic Church, the greatest profanation of heaven, whom she tramples in the dust. (p. 83.)

And what is Dr. Nitsch's own doctrine on this all important point?

"God is present in the Holy Communion! In the Holy Communion Christ re-descends, and becomes re-incarnate. Thus preached Luther, for he adhered to the word, and even to the letter of the Holy Writ. But *where* is God present? Not in the bread, but in him who receives it. By what means does Christ re-descend? Not by the object, but by the act. To whom does he descend? Not to the element, but to the Spirit. In whom does he become incarnate? Not in the wheaten bread, but in him who receives it.—p. 84.

Luther's doctrine of consubstantiation is therefore not held by Dr. Nitsch. Our Saviour spoke not the truth when holding the divine elements in his hand at the last supper, he said, "*This is my body.*" Nor did Judas receive unworthily, for it was but bread that the unfaithful apostle took, and not the body of his Lord. Well may the author admit in another page, that "In our service a man must search long and attentively to find a sacrifice." And again, "The sacrifice is lost in the sacrament, instead of being its centre as it ought to be;" for, where there is no "Real Presence," no sacrifice can exist. It is not, however, our intention here to follow Dr. Nitsch through all the delusions of his temporising belief, errors such as those

noticed above, have been refuted again and again, but few passages in his letter can be more interesting to the Catholic, than those in which he lays bare, with no unsparing hand, the present condition of Lutheranism in Germany.

"The Church of Christ," says he, "in the Protestant Communion is revealed in a menial form. The menial's form! Oh it is not a small thing to say thus much. It is a deeply humiliating confession, a painful and agonizing one, but still it must be made. Because I love the Protestant Church—because I am most heartily devoted to her, I dare thus publicly, before her adversaries, and before you, to confess and bear witness to the very low estate of the Protestant Church. Indeed, its splintered up and divided condition, is not only extremely saddening and repulsive to casual enquirers like yourself, but it is felt as a grievous and painful reality by those who belong to its communion. There are no fit organs to foster, to strengthen, and to develop the spirit of the individual communities, and to connect them with the higher and more general spirit of the Church at large. The communities in most cases, and the provincial churches in all, stand isolated, and are utterly unable to co-operate with other communities. There can be no joint action, which ought to be the soul of a spiritual communion; and where there is joint action, it is brought about in a very disorderly and unnatural manner, by means of voluntary and isolated associations. No effectual barrier can be opposed to the encroachments of secular power from high places, and to unwarranted pushing and grasping at influence from below; and the government of our church is, in most cases, a compound of arbitrary violence and debility. Thus much is taught by daily and practical experience; I will neither conceal nor deny what I deeply lament. And whence should we, in our present state and condition, derive an effective church government? Scarcely a ritual has been left to us. We have lost the standard of the clerical vocation, and, indeed, we have lost that vocation itself in its quality as an element and integral part of the Church. In its place, we have a most unprofitable study of theology as a science. I freely subscribe to Luther's rough remark, that the anointing and shaving of the head does not by any means make a priest; but priests can as little be made by lectures, examinations, colloquies, and by imposition of hands on the part of bishops by the king's grace. Nor can I contradict you, when you say, that the Roman Catholic priest knows generally, more of his parishioners and their wants, than the Protestant clergyman knows of his. Whence, indeed, is the Protestant to derive this knowledge and wisdom. Lectures and handbooks cannot give them; and in his own head, too, he will search in vain, for, (I will say it, though it may be an offence to many) our clerical profession is mostly

sought for by those who want either the means or the brains for another career. The Protestant clergyman has no practical education for his practical duties ; and who will justify him in relying on a special inspiration from heaven ? Or are the majority of these men so inspired, as almost spontaneously to become fit and proper persons for the important office of teachers and guardians ? Is their intelligence, are their characters, is their piety, and are their spiritual gifts, really greater than the corresponding qualities of the parishioners, whom they presume to lecture every seventh day of the week. I am loth to deal harshly or offensively with the servants of our church. The very difficulties of their position plead for them, and appeal to us for encouragement, comfort, and charity. And I gladly pay my highest respect and reverence to the faithful servants of the Word, many of whom are truly right reverend ; but I cannot deny, that there are many of these gentlemen in white neckcloth and black coats, (not only among the rationalists, but also among the orthodox clergy (whom St. Paul would never have thought of entrusting with the cure of souls.

“ The one radical disease of our Church, and the one which is least known, or if known, least considered, is, that the clergyman's place has been taken by scientific theologians ; that the study of theology has come to be the only and indispensable preparation for the cure of souls. No ! I am free to confess that we have no clerical profession, and consequently no efficient church government ; and indeed we cannot have it. For parish government is no church government. These preachers whom no sacred vocation raised above the level of their parishioners—these chaplains to his, or her, Majesty or Highness, who on entering the pulpit bow to the Royal Box (I cannot call it a pew) ; these preachers in the country and in cities, whose weekly sermons are very like the school-boy tasks of theological students ; professors who artfully contrive to veil the most hackneyed thoughts under the most extraordinary phraseology ; they are not the men by whom I like to be preached at, nor ought they to govern my church ; and least of all would I entrust my soul to their keeping. May the Lord help us ! I am free to confess I know not how and by what means this state of things is to be improved, and for that very reason I am temporarily resigned to the imperfections of our church government and clerical estate. Well may you boast of the government and the clerical estate in the Catholic Church. We have neither, and our not having them reveals an awful truth.”—pp. 39—43.

We cannot resist another short extract on this subject.

“ And this too I am free to confess to you that the Protestant Church does too little towards satisfying that want of religious discipline which numbers of people feel as vividly and plainly as you feel it ; that it has resigned too many of those means by which, as a careful mother, it ought to shape, train, and educate the minds

of men ; that it overlooks and neglects a variety of those points of communication and union, of those bridges and bonds, by the help of which each man is brought nearer heaven, and mankind to God. It is perfectly shocking that our churches are not open on week days ; that the weary labourer may not enter them, and find rest and comfort for his body as well as for his mind ; that their doors do not stand open, inviting the pilgrim through life, for a moment to leave his stormy path, and to seek and find peace and heavenly aspirations. It is a woful thing to see that the most important events in the life of individuals and nations, pass by unremarked and unheeded by the Church ; it is shocking to behold in Protestant towns, burial procession after burial procession passing through the streets, without the Church showing the least interest or sympathy in the death of a fellow-Christian.

"But if it be a bad thing that our church doors are closed for six days in the week, how much worse is it in many cases, when those doors are opened on the seventh day. Is this, indeed, divine service ? this singing of long prosy hymns, which have been emasculated by the milk and water tendencies of this æsthetic age ; this reciting and listening to a sermon, which chiefly consists of some phraseology, wrapped round a biblical text, which it neither explains nor brings home, while glorying in its own petty wisdom, it remains utterly oblivious of bible text and congregation."—p. 45.

"Oh, truly madam, I am almost tempted to assent to all your reproaches against the Reformers, and indeed to believe that you deal too gently with them, whenever I recollect and consider how much they took away from poor suffering humanity ; how many connecting links between man and God, and heaven and earth they tore asunder, how much poorer and void of colour and ornament they have made, not only the Churches, but also earth itself ; how much less of heaven's radiancy the life of mankind reflects ; how much further earth has been removed from heaven, and man from God, since the time of the Reformation, and I am free to confess, by means of the Reformation."—p. 64.

Hopeless, indeed, is the writer's task, if he propose to himself to remedy these evils as a Protestant minister. Let the Protestants throw open their Churches on week-days, and what would be the result ? What is there in a Protestant Church to attract the poor man ? What invites him to worship there in preference to his own home, or to the bright sunny fields and leafy woods, of which, alas ! in these thriving days, he sees so little ? The bare walls of a Protestant Church have no attraction ; there are no pictures, no images, to excite his innate love for the beautiful, or to raise his mind to God, and above all, infinitely above all, *God is not present there in the ever Blessed*

Sacrament of the altar. It is the Real Presence of the Redeemer of mankind upon our altars, that fills our Catholic Churches at all hours of the day with humbly adoring worshippers, to Him the poor man comes with hope and confidence, to Him the afflicted fly for refuge and consolation. He came on earth to save mankind, He remains on earth to be our food, our guide, our beacon, in this earthly pilgrimage. It is for this reason that the Catholic prefers the Church for the upraising of his daily prayer, it is the absence of this that has closed the Protestant temples, and has reduced their service to a mere assembling for prayers, and a sermon every seventh day.

In her second work, "*Aus Jerusalem*," the Countess Hahn Hahn had vigorously attacked the present laxity of Protestant discipline in regard to divorce and matrimony. It is well known how easily the sacred tie of the married state is loosened and severed in Protestant countries, and especially perhaps in Prussia, but when the arch-reformer Luther graciously permitted the Landgrave of Hesse to have two wives at once, surely his followers may be indulged a little in the same way. Let us see how Dr. Nitsch defends his Church from these imputations.

At page 50 he informs us that—

"within the sphere of Protestantism, the sanctity and stability of sundry moral obligations, such, as for instance, of marriage, has been shaken."

And farther on we are told that—

"The Protestant Church inculcates the same duties respecting matrimony as the Roman Catholic Church. It does not, indeed, deny the fact of matrimony having the character of a human, social, and civic institution before it received a loftier consecration at the hands of Christianity, nor does its love of truth allow it to declare that the marriage bond is altogether and absolutely indissoluble. For no good can come of a falsehood, and marriage crushed and annihilated in its essence, and outwardly held together by brute compulsion, is, I *must* go the full length of the expression, and say that such marriage is a rampant lie. The sanctity of matrimony finds its best protection and support in the dissolution of any marriage which has really been broken, and which has, in truth, no existence, to prevent the dreadful corruption, the thorough bestialization of the guilty parties."—p. 109.

Such is Dr. Nitsch's apology for Protestant facility of divorce, and we leave it without note or comment, for we

must now draw our observations to a close, and only express our fervent hope, that the recent remarkable publications of the Countess Hahn Hahn may call forth many such apologists as Dr. Nitsch of Berlin, or whoever the anonymous author may be. Were it not for the Exeter Hall style of the translator's preface, we should have thought that some vigilant Catholic had seized on the German clergyman's essay, and had hastened to reproduce it in an English dress, for the benefit of the faithful in England. Assuredly no higher testimony has been borne for many a day by an adversary to the majesty, to the unity and to the beauty of the Catholic Church, and seldom have we read confessions more humiliating to the Protestant.

ART. III.—1. *The Mormons, or, Latter-Day-Saints ; a contemporary History.* London : Office of the National Illustrated Library.

2. *A Portraiture of Mormonism, or animalversions on the Pretensions and Doctrines of the Latter-Day-Saints, &c.* By Dr. GEORGE SEXTON. London : W. Strange, Paternoster Row.

3. *A short History of the Mormonites, or Latter-Day-Saints, with an account of the real origin of the Book of Mormon.* By the Rev. JOHN FRERE, M.A., Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of London. Masters, 1850.

ALTHOUGH it has been often most truly remarked that the records of all heresies, however differing in their outward show, present to the deeper observer an uniformity of appearance which he cannot mistake ; still it is true, that if there is much of uniformity, there is also much of variety, to be found in the history of each of those religious movements which have successively drawn men aside from the unity of Christ's body, and from the doctrine and fellowship of the Christian Church. Heresy, as every one will readily allow, consists not so much in the denial as in the distortion or exaggeration of some one revealed truth : and those

who from time to time have given their names to religious bodies condemned by the voice of the Church, for the most part have started on their course, not so much with any deliberate design of throwing aside a received article of faith, as urged on by a misguided zeal and jealousy on behalf of this or that single dogma, to the exclusion of others no less true and no less necessary than itself in the "Analogy of the Faith." Thus miserably apt is the human mind to content itself with a mere show of submission to authority, while in reality it follows its own private will and wayward fancies. "Fallit vitium specie virtutis et umbrâ."

We believe that a careful analysis of every heresy which has arisen in the Church would present us with one and the same result, that, namely, at which we have hinted above. For example, what was Arianism but an exaggeration of the doctrine of the perfect Humanity of our Blessed Lord to the neglect of His Divinity? what, again, was Nestorianism, but a distortion of His perfect Divinity, by men who forgot that He was also "very man of the substance of His mother?" and what the Pelagian heresy, but a perverse dwelling on the natural though imperfect goodness still clinging to fallen man, to the exclusion of all notice of his inherent sinfulness?

And what is true of these ancient forms of heresy, we shall find true, *mutatis mutandis*, of those which belong to the present age. In Protestantism, and Lutheranism, in Wesleyanism, and Mormonism, in one and in all, the above law may be found verified, as might easily be shown in detail. Unbelieving as they are of necessity in practice, they are still to be regarded, in our judgment at least, as forms of *misbelief* rather than of actual *unbelief*. They are one and all perversions of truths, distinct indeed, and separable in thought perhaps, but all more or less intimately allied with each other. They one and all take up a truth and magnify it beyond its proper dimensions, in such a way as in effect to destroy other equally important parts of revealed truth, which in the aggregate compose the great system of the Catholic Faith. How far this observation is true of Mormonism, it will be our endeavour to prove in the following pages.

For full fifteen centuries after Christ, a universal belief prevailed throughout the length and breadth of the Christian world,—(whether true or false we will not here stop to

enquire)—that the Catholic Church was no mere abstraction and unreal phantom, no mere aggregate of men believing in some common doctrine, but a living body, gifted with supernatural graces and powers, and by virtue of its supernatural life and energies binding men together into one universal brotherhood, as men redeemed by the Precious Blood of their Saviour, and consecrated to be 'Temples of His indwelling Spirit, by a supernatural and sacramental union. This, we say, was the universal and spontaneous belief of all Christendom, before the days of what men term the "glorious Reformation." And it was no mere speculative belief: it was but the practical realization of that article of the Christian's Creed, "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints." But ages went by, and the *bellua centiceps* of Protestantism appeared in Western Christendom. Onward it came, with a suspicious and introverted gaze, with hesitating words, and rationalizing theories; it spoke ambiguously and distrustfully, yet at the same time it was proud and self-confident. It suggested doubts but solved them not; it questioned the authority of long standing and objective realities, and recommended a more subjective system than had hitherto prevailed. And then, as if to show the reality of its zeal for God's honour, it made light of God's Church: and by way of manifesting its purely spiritual character, it first questioned and then denied the existence of all that was spiritual and supernatural. It prided itself on reducing every thing to the level of what was natural, and visible, and sensible. Setting the carnal above the spiritual, and sight above faith, it laughed to scorn the idea of God's Church, as in any sense the divinely appointed storehouse of supernatural gifts and graces. And in the Northern parts of Europe this system of disbelief, so flattering to the proud heart of man, gained its full sway; and especially in those countries which by situation or by other circumstances were less intimately connected with the Holy See, it became the prevailing form of popular belief. From that time forward it seemed as though men had forgotten the existence of any thing in itself distinct from, and superior to, the things of sense. And hence Protestantism has paved the way for the growth of every kind of heresy which has since become indigenous to its cold and barren soil. From Europe the poisonous weed of Protestantism was transplanted to America, there to

develope itself with a more fatal speed, as being unchecked by the old established laws and customs of a parochial system, or by those inveterate habits and popular traditions, which here act as such powerful impediments to its full development, and control its natural tendencies.

Such being the case, it is by no means a matter of wonder that "*Mormonism*," or the religion of the "*Latter Day Saints*," should have grown up and prospered so rapidly as it has done, both in England and America, during the last quarter of a century. For ourselves, we can only express our wonder that the Protestant heresy should have existed 300 years before the appearance of "*Mormonism*" in the world. The latter, indeed, is an explicit testimony against the Protestantism which gave it birth, and a proof of its utter inability to supply the moral and spiritual needs of man's heart. Mormonism is a child like its parent in spirit, though its features, to the superficial observer at least, bear but little marks of resemblance. Its first and foremost feature is an indignant protest against the idea that spiritual gifts have been for ever withdrawn from among men. Protestantism, indeed, would teach its followers to believe that the supernatural order of things was destined by God to cease with the life of the last survivor of the Apostolic College, never again to be continued or revived. Joseph Smith, the clever but illiterate author of the new Mormon Revelation, was not slow to detect the weakness of this Protestant position, and accordingly, some twenty-five years ago, he boldly conceived the idea of founding a new sect upon the basis of supernatural gifts and powers. He ought, indeed, to have seen that the Holy Bible speaks not of the *future restoration* of spiritual gifts to the Church, some eighteen centuries after the Day of Pentecost, but of their *uninterrupted continuance*: but at all events he saw and felt that if the Bible were true, and if God had not ceased to have regard for man, spiritual and supernatural gifts, as witnesses to revelation, must exist somewhere or other as really and truly in the nineteenth century as in the first. "If Revelation," he argued, "be truly from God, it must be divinely attested now as of old. Protestantism has lost sight of this great truth. I will make a bold hazard, and build myself up a fortune and a name, by reviving this forgotten doctrine. I will found a new sect, and call it a Church." But we cannot find words more appropriate to this part of our subject than the following paragraph

which we quote from one of the books whose titles stand prefixed to this article.

"Men whom the world has accepted as philosophers, have yearned in these latter days to supply the void which they felt to exist as a want in modern Christendom. Luther's reformation in Europe was directly opposed to the mystical spirit which is concealed in the bosom of all religious communities, and which, though the great reformer sought to extinguish it, continues still unquenched to the present time, and, as his biography proves, was not absent in his deeper moods from his own mental operations. The Chillingworth doctrine of 'The bible, and the bible only, being the religion of Protestants,' had a tendency to substitute for the idolatry of the priest, the idolatry of the book; and indeed it was a favourite tenet, and (strange as it may appear) the boast of the orthodox (Protestant) that 'there was no vision in the land.' The time for miraculous communication was passed by for ever. The great American sage, Mr. Emerson, felt the burden of the Protestant yoke in this particular, and in one of his lectures he declares that its teaching is equivalent to an admission that 'God is dead' in respect to the human race at the present time. Now this is a conclusion against which the thinking man will reasonably revolt. Nor is much education required to perceive its fallacy. The self-instructed man would be one of the first to perceive it. No wonder, then, that in some parts of the Christian world there should be a Joseph Smith, who would be deeply affected with such perception, and pursuing the practical tendencies of a working man, should seek to carry out its results in connection with the actual conditions and relations of the social state, collectively and individually.' (The Mormons, &c., pp. 292—3.)

We are then agreed, that as Protestantism is the natural fruit of man's rebellious heart, so Mormonism is the natural reaction which must follow upon Protestantism, where it prevails widely, and is unimpeded in its development. And hence we feel but little astonishment at learning that the number of professed members belonging to the Mormonite body, or, (to speak in their own phraseology,) the "Church of the Latter-Day Saints," which so late as the year 1831, counted but five followers, now amounts in all to at least 300,000 souls; and that in Great Britain, more especially in the Welch counties, and in the manufacturing districts, they reckon their adherents by tens of thousands. So much by way of preface; we will therefore proceed at once to give our readers a brief account of the rise and fortunes of this strange and novel sect, the like to

which we may confidently affirm has not been seen in western Christendom since the days of Mahomet.

According to the generally received narrative, Joseph Smith, the founder and prophet of Mormonism, was an obscure and illiterate individual, and of very indifferent character, who lived with his parents in a small village of the United States. When young his religious feelings had been much excited at a Wesleyan "revival," but being in doubt between the rival claims of Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist preachers, he naturally came to the conclusion that they were all equally in error, and in 1823 he began to meditate the founding of a new religion. According to his own statement he had witnessed a miraculous vision from heaven some three years before, which warned him that all sects and religions had departed from the truth, and promised him that the true doctrine should be revealed to himself at some future time. If we can believe his story, he again received a second manifestation and a revelation directly from God, in answer to his prayers, on the evening of September 21st, 1823. The glorious being whom he then saw declared himself to be an angel from God, sent to tell him that his sins were forgiven, that the fulfilment of God's ancient covenant with Israel was drawing near, that the time was at hand for the Gospel to be preached to all nations in its fulness, and that he himself was to be the chosen instrument in the hands of God for working out His gracious purposes. It was also, at the same time, revealed to him that the American Indians were a remnant of the lost tribes of Israel, and that when some 1400 years ago they fell into grievous wickedness, the records of their race were hidden from them by way of punishment. These records, he was informed, were written on plates of brass or gold, and were still in existence, though buried under the ground, on the west side of a hill near the little village of Manchester, between Palmyra, Maine county, and Canandigua, Ontario county, New York. Like St. Paul upon another occasion, it would seem that the Mormon prophet "was not disobedient to the heavenly vision," and accordingly on the following morning (Sep. 22, 1823) he set off and searched the excavations of the hill until he stumbled upon them, (*θεία τιμὴ τύχη*, as old Herodotus would say,) at the bottom of a hole which was lined above and below with smooth flag stones, carefully cemented together, and forming a kind of box or chest. He opened

the box, and while he viewed the sacred treasure with astonishment, "behold! the angel of the Lord, who had previously visited him,"—(we quote the received account as it stands in "the Mormons,")—"again stood in his presence, and his soul was again enlightened as it was the evening before, and he was filled with the Holy Spirit, and the heavens were opened, and the glory of the Lord shone round about and rested on him." (p. 20.) The angel then told him that in the plates which he found within this subterranean box was contained the fulness of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. During the next four years he is said to have received frequent oral instructions from his heavenly visitant; and four years later (Sep. 22, 1827,) he received the plates or records into his hand from "the angel of the Lord," and immediately proceeded to translate them, "by the gift and power of God, through the means of the Urim and Thummim." Being no scholar, and a bad writer to boot, he was forced to employ a scribe, until at length he accomplished the translation of the Book of Mormon.* Three witnesses who had a hand in this affair, named Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, and Martin Harris, testify that they saw the plates which compose the record, and that the meaning of the writing engraved upon them was revealed to them directly by God; and eight more

* The following summary of the contents and history of the Book of Mormon is quoted in "the Mormons," p. 29, from a publication called "*The Voice of Warning*," by Parley Pratt, one of "the apostles:"—"The Book of Mormon contains the history of the ancient inhabitants of America, who were a branch of the house of Israel, of the tribe of Joseph; of whom the Indians are still a remnant; but the principal nation of them having fallen in battle, in the fourth or fifth century, one of their prophets, whose name was Mormon, saw fit to make an abridgment of their history, their prophecies, and their doctrine, which he engraved on plates; and afterwards, being slain, the record fell into the hands of his son, Moroni, who, being hunted by his enemies, was directed to deposit the record safely in the earth, with a promise from God that it should be preserved, and brought to light in the latter days by means of a Gentile nation, who should possess the land. The deposit was laid about the year, A. D., 420, on a hill then called Cumora, now in Ontario county, where it was preserved in safety until it was brought to light by no less than the ministry of angels, and translated by inspiration. And the great Jehovah bore record of the same to chosen witnesses, who declare it to the world."

witnesses testify to having* seen and handled the plates themselves, and also the engravings. It is right, however, to mention that the greatest part of these are interested parties, as being four of them relatives of D. Whitmer, one of the three witnesses above mentioned, while three more are the father and brothers of Joseph Smith, leaving one only witness besides, of whom nothing certain is known. Upon the testimony of these witnesses the whole fabric of Mormonism leans for support. What the worth of that testimony may be will be shown in the sequel. From the *Millennial Star*, vol. iii., p. 148, as quoted in "the Mormons," (p. 26) we learn that while Smith and his associate Cowdery above mentioned were engaged in the work of translation, a messenger descended from heaven in a cloud of light, and by laying on his hands ordained them to the Aaronic priesthood, and as this priesthood had not the power of laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost, he promised that they should afterwards receive the fulness of spiritual powers. "The messenger who visited us on this occasion, and conferred this priesthood on us," adds the narrator, "said that his name was John, the same that is called John the Baptist in the New Testament, and that he acted under the direction of Peter, James, and John, who held the keys of the priesthood of Melchisedek, which priesthood, he said, should in due time be conferred upon us, and that I should be called the first elder and he the second. It was on the 15th day of May, 1829, that we were baptized and ordained under the hand of the messenger." (p. 27.)

The value of this testimony is considerably diminished, to say the least, by the fact that "all the eleven witnesses," as Mr. Frere remarks, "were men deeply engaged in the imposture, and expecting to make a fortune by it." Added to which we are told that "six out of the eleven have since revolted from Mormonism and have become its opponents.

* From other parts of Martin Harris's story, as given by himself, it would appear that he never saw the plates at all with his eyes, but only by faith, his eyes being bandaged at the time. It is also clear that Harris copied down the "Book of Mormon" from the dictation of Smith, who would not allow him a sight of the original from which he was translating.—(what this was, our readers will see hereafter,)—but sat with a blanket drawn as a curtain between himself and the credulous dupe who acted as his amanuensis.

Three died in its profession; the two others are Hiram and Samuel Smith, own brothers of the impostor.”—(p. 12.) The book of Mormon itself professes to contain a new revelation, which was given to Joseph Smith by an angel from heaven; and claims to be received as an inspired book of equal authority with the Holy Scriptures. Nay, it not only asserts that Smith is a prophet directly commissioned by God; but that, as all existing religions without exception are false, there is no salvation for any man but by embracing the doctrines of Mormonism. This is pretty plain speaking, one would, think, for a person who, when asked to confirm his divine mission by a miracle, constantly evaded the difficulty by saying that miracles were only for the initiated; like Mahomet, who when similarly circumstanced, declared that he had no need of miracles, for the Koran was a miracle itself. But the real fact is, that the Book of Mormon, (as is satisfactorily shown by a written declaration of the widow of its real author*) was never dug up at all out of the ground, not brought to Smith by an angel, nor written on plates of brass or gold: it was nothing but a MS. novel or romance, written by a certain “Rev.” gentleman named Solomon Spaulding, and containing a romantic description of the fortunes of the lost tribes of Israeli. After Spaulding’s death, the MS. remained for some years in the possession of a Mr. Patterson, the editor of a newspaper at Pittsburgh, in whose employ was an accomplice and tool of Smith, named Sidney Rigdon, who became acquainted with it and copied it privately. Smith was too sharp-sighted a person not to see that if he entertained the design of palming himself off upon the western world as the founder of a new religion, here was a ready instrument at hand. The stroke was but too successful, as the event showed; and the power possessed by the illiterate Joseph over the minds of others, was exhibited by the fact that a farmer named Martin Harris not only gave him fifty dollars towards printing his golden Bible, but also raised further supplies for the same purpose by mortgaging his farm, and afterwards (through fear, as it would seem, of divine displeasure!) consented to sit day after day, in a private room, with Smith, writing down what

* This document is given at full length in the *Mormons* (p. 31—33.), and in Mr. Frere’s tract (pp. 12—14.). It will well repay perusal.

the "prophet dictated from behind a blanket or curtain, so hung as to keep the latter, with Spaulding's manuscript in hand, entirely concealed from view. "The pretended translation from behind the curtain," says the English Review, "of which Martin Harris was made the dupe, was nothing more than the dictation of Spaulding's romance, with such alterations and embellishments as would suit the particular purpose which the two confederates had in view."—(No. xxviii., art. 'Spiritual Gifts and Spiritual Delusions.')

But it is time that we hastened our readers on from this consideration of the external facts connected with the origin of Mormonism, and of the Book of Mormon, on the authority of which book the whole fabric of Mormonism rests. We must proceed to state from authentic sources some of the leading doctrines contained in the volume itself. From these extracts our readers will be better able to form a correct idea of the pretensions of the Latter Day Saints, and of their relative position to other Protestant heretical and schismatical bodies.

The discovery of the Book of Mormon is connected, by its followers, with certain prophecies contained in Holy Scripture which refer to the "Latter Days;" hence their title of the "Latter Day Saints." In treating of the subject of the divine authenticity of the Book of Mormon, Mr. Orson Pratt, by far the most talented writer whom Mormonism has produced, declares that "the Book itself has been confirmed by the voice of the Lord, by the ministry of angels, by heavenly visions, and by the miraculous gifts and powers of the Holy Ghost, and that to tens of thousands of witnesses." He goes on to prove that Holy Scripture itself speaks plainly of a revelation belonging to the "latter days;" for the most part applying to the nineteenth century a series of texts from the Old Testament, which were written several hundred years before the Incarnation of our Blessed Lord, and which point either to the foundation of the Catholic Church upon the great day of Pentecost, and so found their fulfilment above eighteen centuries ago, or else to portions of the Apocalypse which refer to the end of the world and the last great day. Thus, for example, according to Mr. Orson Pratt, the Church of the "Latter Day Saints" is the "stone" foretold by the prophet Daniel, as "cut out of the mountain without hands," destined to smite the "Image" upon its feet of

iron and clay, and in the event to become "a great mountain," which shall "fill the whole earth." (Dan. ii. 45. ii. 35.) The prophet Daniel, in another passage, declares that "the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High; whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all kings shall serve Him and shall obey Him." (Dan. vii. 27.) The Mormonite comment by Pratt is as follows:—

"The nations of modern Europe, including England and the Gentile nations of America, compose the legs, feet, and toes of the image, while the other portions of the image will be found mostly among the Asiatic nations. The geographical position of the image is from East to West; its head is found in Asia, and its toes in Europe and America. When the kingdom of God is set up, it must be somewhere near the Western extremity of this great image, for the toes and feet are first broken by it, and afterwards all the other portions; from which we learn that its advancement is from west to east. The progress of the kingdoms of this world has been from east to west; the progress of the kingdom of God is from west to east, in a retrograde direction. This stone, according to Daniel, is to be 'cut out of the mountain without hands;' 'cut out of the mountain,' signifies its location before any part of the image is broken. The present location of the 'Latter-Day-Church' is in the valleys, among the *Rocky Mountains*; and this appears to be its appropriate position, according to prophecy. The stone is to be 'cut without hands;' this signifies that it is a kingdom not formed by the will of man, but by the will of God; human wisdom has no hand in its formation; it is the God of heaven that sets it up, and by Him it will be sustained, and never be destroyed." (The Mormons, p. 274)

Another passage adduced as a proof of the Mormon delusion, is a text from the twenty-ninth chapter of Isaias, verse 4th, "Thou shalt be brought down, thou shalt *speak out of the ground*, and thy speech shall be heard out of the ground." These words are blasphemously applied by the same Mormon writer above quoted, to the pretended discovery of the golden plates in the subterranean chamber, which we have narrated above. "Never was a prophecy more truly fulfilled than this," says Orson Pratt, "in the coming forth of the Book of Mormon. Joseph Smith took that sacred history 'out of the ground;' it is the voice of the ancient prophets of America, speaking 'out of the ground.'" Again, Isaias declares that the book itself shall

be "delivered to him that is not learned, or as the Catholic version has it, "the book shall be given to one that knoweth no letter." "This was fulfilled," says Orson Pratt, "when the angel of the Lord delivered the Book into the hands of Mr. Smith; though unlearned in every language but his mother tongue, yet he was commanded to read and translate the Book.....What could be more marvellous or wonderful than for the Lord to cause an unlearned youth to read and translate a book which the wisdom of the most wise and learned could not translate?" And further still, the prophet Ezechiel is adduced in proof of the truth of Mormonism—"And thou, son of man, take thee a stick, and write upon it, Of Juda, and of the children of Israel, his associates; and take another stick, and write upon it, For Joseph, the stick of Ephraim, and for all the house of Israel and of his associates, and join them one to the other into one stick, and they shall become one in thine hand." (Chap. xxxvii. 16, 17.) According to the Mormon comment, the above prophecy typifies the union of two books in the hand of the Lord. Of these two "sticks," or rolls, or books, (for they are the same thing, see Jerem. xxxvi. 1, 2.) the former for Juda is the Bible, which is the record of Juda; and the second stick, that namely "for Joseph, the stick of Ephraim" is the Book of Mormon, which is the record of Joseph, written in ancient America." We learn also that the union of these two books was not to be by accident, but a work wrought by the hand of the Lord; and so, Mr. Orson Pratt observes that "the two writings becoming one in Ezechiel's hand, is a most beautiful representation of the two writings which should become one in the Lord's hand," namely, the Bible and the Book of Mormon.

This latter Book, then, stands, according to the "Latter Day Saints," in the same relation to the Holy Scriptures as that which the New Testament bears to the Old. It is a sort of completion of the fragmentary work into a perfect whole. And accordingly, the two books together form the entire written standard of doctrine with the Mormonites. But as we shall hereafter see, they are not so foolish as to regard even these two books taken together as their complete rule of faith. Far as the Latter Day Saints are fallen from the true religion, taught by Jesus Christ and His Apostles, they are not so blind and infatuated as to subscribe to the Protestant opinion, as to the sufficiency of

the mere letter of Holy Scripture as the sole rule of faith and practice. Far from it. True Protestants as they are in their denunciation of the Catholic Church, Her Priesthood and Her Sacraments,* they would seem to have too much common sense, if we may so speak, mixed up with their absurdities, not to see that every written document needs a living voice of some kind or other to expound it. They do not believe that God, who spoke by His prophets and His Son, can speak no more to man. Continued revelation is the very basis of their belief. With Mr. Emerson

* Orson Pratt, in his "Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon," boldly declares that the whole Romish, Greek, and Protestant ministry, from the Pope downwards, through every grade of office, are as destitute of authority from God as the devil and his angels. Neither Luther, nor the "irreverent" Jewell, nor the "Rev." Hobart Seymour could have spoken plainer. "Such," adds Mr. Pratt, "was to be the religion of the latter ages, as prophetically described by the ancient Apostles; and such is the religion of the Papal, Greek, and Protestant churches of the nineteenth century. The predictions were uttered eighteen centuries ago, and modern Christendom exhibits a most perfect fulfilment. Instead of having apostles, prophets, and other inspired men in the church, now receiving visions, dreams, revelations, ministry of angels, and prophecies for the calling of officers, and for the government of the church, they have a wicked, corrupt, uninspired Pope, or uninspired archbishops, bishops, clergymen, &c., who have a great variety of corrupt forms of godliness, but utterly deny the gift of revelation, and every other miraculous power, which always characterised Christ's church. These men-made, powerless, hypocritical, false teachers, 'make merchandise of the people,' by preaching for large salaries, amounting in many instances to tens of thousands of pounds sterling annually. They and their deluded followers are reprobate concerning the faith once delivered to the saints. The faith which once quenched the violence of fire, stopped the mouths of lions, divided waters, and controlled the power of nature, is discarded as unnecessary. The faith that inspired men with the gift of revelation,.....is denied as not being attainable in this age. The sound doctrine taught by the Apostles which put mankind in the possession of these glorious gifts and powers, cannot now be endured. The doctrines, commands, fables, traditions, and creeds, of uninspired men, are now substituted in the place of direct inspiration from God.....Guess-work, conjecture, opinion, and perhaps in some instances, a belief as regards to the truth, are all that they attain to, while a knowledge they do not attain, because they deny revelation to be the only means of attaining it." (*The Mormons*, p. 286—7.)

they believe that "God is not dead," since He inspired His apostle St. John to write His Gospel and Apocalypse; or that if He ever has been "dead," He is not so now. To use the words of one of the little works we have so often quoted, "The Church is to them (the Mormonites,) the living witness and interpreter of the dead letter in old documents. With them there still exists a fellowship between God and man, with whom the being of the former is testified by immediate inspiration; and the believing recipient is, as of old, 'the Temple of the Holy Ghost.'" (The Mormons, p. 292.)

In other words the "Latter Day Saints," by an exercise of private judgment which Protestants cannot consistently condemn, have proved them to be such excellent Protestants and Bible-Christians, as to discern in that inspired volume the absurdity of the leading feature of Protestantism itself. They have found out that a living guide is necessary to interpret the Scriptures. They have found out that a supernatural system, once established on earth by supernatural means, must also be supported and witnessed from time to time, by example of divine interference which shall transcend the ordinary laws of nature. In other words, they believe in the present existence of miraculous powers somewhere or other. And so, in one respect, the rise and the progress of Mormonism, like that of every other sect and heresy, has borne its tribute of witness to the Church of the living God. Their argument is much as follows. For the last fourteen hundred years, the Church, originally founded by the Apostles, has been in a state of suspended animation.

"We believe," writes Mr. Orson Pratt, in his Remarkable Visions, No. 6, "that there has been a general and awful apostacy from the religion of the New Testament, so that all the known world have been left for centuries without the Church of Christ among them; without a priesthood authorized of God to administer ordinances; that every one of the Churches has perverted the Gospel, some in one way and some in another. For instance, almost every church has done away with 'immersion for the remission of sins.' Those few who have practised it for the remission of sins, have done away the ordinance of the 'laying on of hands' upon baptized believers for the gift of the Holy Ghost. Again, the few who have practised the last ordinance, have perverted the first, or have done away with the ancient gifts, powers, and blessings which flow from the Holy Spirit, or have said to the inspired apostles and prophets, 'We

have no need of you in the body in these days.' Those few, again, who have believed in, and contended for, the miraculous gifts and powers of the Holy Spirit, have perverted the ordinances, or done them away. Thus all the churches preach false doctrines and pervert the gospel, and instead of having authority from God to administer its ordinances. They are under the curse of God for perverting it."

It is amusing to observe how thoroughly the following passage which we extract from Mr. Orson Pratt's writings, turns the tables upon Protestantism in every shape and form, and precludes any and every professor of the Protestant religion from throwing the first stone at the "Latter Day Saints."

"As the Church of England and other Protestants do not profess to have received any new commission by revelation, but, on the contrary, require their followers to reject anything of the kind, it may be asked, *How did they get their authority?* It will be replied that they received it from Wycliffe, Cranmer, Luther, Calvin, and various other dissenters from the Papal Church. But where did these dissenters get their authority from? They answer, 'From the Roman Catholics.' But the Roman Catholics excommunicated them as heretics, and surely if they had power to impart authority, they had power to take it away. Therefore, if the Romish Church had any authority, the Protestants being excommunicated, can hold none from that source. But if the Catholics hold authority, they must be the true church, and consequently the Protestants must be apostates; but, on the other hand, if the Catholics be not the true church, they can have no authority themselves, and so could not impart any to others. Now, the Church of England states in one of her homilies, that '*Laity and Clergy, learned and unlearned, men and women, and children of all ages, sects, and degrees, of whole Christendom, have been at once buried in the most abominable idolatry (a most dreadful thing to think), and that for the space of eight hundred years and more.*' Wesley, in his 94th sermon, states the same in substance; he says, "The real cause why the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost were no longer to be found in the Christian Church, was *because the Christians were turned heathens again, and had only a dead form left.*" If, then, the whole of Christendom without one exception, has been 'buried in most abominable idolatry for upwards of 800 years,' as the Church of England declares, and if, because they are destitute of the gifts, they are not now even Christians, but heathens, as Wesley asserts, we ask where was the authority during these 800 years, and where is it now? Surely God would not recognize 'the most abominable idolaters' as holding authority; if so, the authority of the worship-

pers of Juggernaut must be as valid as that of idolatrous Christendom.....If, then, 'the whole of Christendom' has been without power and authority 'for eight hundred years and upwards,' we ask, when was the authority restored? how was it restored? and to what man or people was it restored? It could not have been restored to the Papal Church, for she does not profess that any such restoration has been made to her"—(such authority was never lost in the Catholic Church, we may remark, and therefore 'restoration' of it is a thing impossible. Ed. D. R.);—"it could not have been restored to the Church of England and other Protestants, for they do not admit any later revelation than the New Testament. Consequently, their own admissions prove most clearly that the whole of Christendom is without an authorized ministry; and therefore it is indispensably necessary that more revelation should be given to restore the authority on earth, and to call men to the ministry, as in former days." (*The Mormons*, p. 288—9.)

Our Catholic readers will readily pardon the length of the above extract, for they will recognize in it the whole Protestant position overthrown by a Protestant line of argument, and put so closely and forcibly as to preclude a reply. It is almost unnecessary to add to it any remark of our own, but we venture to suggest that no consistent Protestant can reasonably object to the ground on which the doctrines of Mormonism are here urged upon the acceptance of the multitude, for they have themselves furnished the principles, and the Latter Day Saints have done nothing but draw from them their own legitimate conclusions. The Catholic, however, knows beyond all doubt, that it is blasphemy to believe that the Holy Spirit who founded the Christian Church, has ever since deserted Her, or left Her destitute of those supernatural powers, and that spiritual authority with which He endowed Her at the first. And hence we urge that the Catholic Church is the only form of religious belief which can offer an unsailable front to the incursions of Mormonism. It is, indeed, to be observed, that in the above extract, Mr. Orson Pratt takes the words of the English Church and Mr. Wesley for Gospel truth, and considers their statements as to the assertion of spiritual powers as conclusive. For ourselves we venture to suggest that the real facts of the case, and the assertions contained in the Protestant Articles and Homilies, will be often found diametrically opposed. "All is not gold that glitters;" and all that the Anglican Establishment asserts is not Gospel.

But our readers will be anxious to learn something further of the belief of the Latter Day Saints, and of the contents of the book exhumed on the American hills by Joseph Smith. The following summary of the Mormon creed is given in their own periodicals, as the recognized Faith of the "Latter Day Saints."

"We believe in God the Eternal Father, and His Son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost.

"We believe that men will be punished for their own sins, and not for Adam's transgressions.

"We believe that through the atonement of Christ all mankind may be saved, by obedience to the laws and commandments of the gospel.

"We believe that these ordinances are :—First, faith in the Lord Jesus Christ ; second, repentance ; third, baptism by immersion for the remission of sins ; fourth, laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Spirit ; fifth, the Lord's Supper.

"We believe that men must be called of God by inspiration, and by laying on of hands by those who are duly commissioned to preach the Gospel, and administer the ordinances thereof. We believe in the same organization that existed in the primitive church, viz., apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, evangelists, &c. We believe in the powers and gifts of the everlasting Gospel ; viz., the gift of faith, discerning of spirits, prophecy, revelations, visions, healing, tongues, and the interpretation of tongues, wisdom, charity, brotherly love. We believe in the Word of God recorded in the Bible ; we also believe in the Word of God recorded in the Book of Mormon, and in all other good books. We believe all that God has revealed, and all that he does now reveal, and we believe that he will yet reveal many more great and important things, pertaining to the kingdom of God, and Messiah's second coming. We believe in the literal gathering of Israel, and in the restoration of the ten tribes ; that Zion will be established on the Western continent ; that Christ will reign personally upon the earth a thousand years ; and that the earth will be renewed, and receive its paradisaical glory. We believe in the literal resurrection of the body, and that the dead in Christ will rise first, and that the rest of the dead live not again until the thousand years are expired. We claim the privilege of worshipping Almighty God according to the dictates of our conscience unmolested, and allow all men the same privilege, let them worship how or where they may. We believe in being subject to kings, queens, presidents, rulers, and magistrates, in obeying, honouring, and sustaining the law. We believe in being honest, true, chaste, temperate, benevolent, virtuous, and upright, and in doing good to all men ; indeed, we may say that we follow the admonition of Paul : we 'believe all things,' we 'hope all

things,' we have 'endured' very many things, and hope to be able to 'endure all things.' Everything virtuous, lovely, praiseworthy, and of good report we seek after, looking forward to the 'recompense of reward.'"

Some few further brief particulars relative to their belief, we extract from "The Mormons," as likely to be generally interesting.

"The Mormons recognize two orders of priesthood, the 'Aaronic' and 'Melchisedekian.' They are governed by a prophet or president, twelve Apostles, the 'seventies,' and a number of bishops, high-priests, deacons, elders, and teachers; they assert that the gifts of prophecy and the power of working miracles have not ceased; that Joseph Smith and many other Mormons have wrought miracles and cast out devils; that the end of the world is close at hand, and that they are the 'saints' spoken of in the Apocalypse, who will reign with Christ in a temporal kingdom in this world. They assert also in more precise terms than they employ in their 'Confession of Faith,' that the seat of this kingdom is to be either Missouri—the place originally intended—or their present location of the Great Salt Lake Valley of Deseret. They allege that their Book of Mormon and the 'doctrine' and 'covenants' form the fulness of the Gospel; that they take nothing from the Old or New Testament, both of which they complete."

The following is an extract from their authorized documents, signed by Orson Pratt, and shewing the material and heretical views which they entertain of the nature of God. "*We believe that God is a being, who hath both body and parts, and also passions.*" But the following specimen of devotional poetry among the Mormons, to the tune, "The rose that all are praising," which is taken from their authorised organ, "Times and Seasons," will perhaps convey to our readers the best idea of their theological doctrines;

"The God that others worship is not the God for me;
He has no parts nor body, and cannot hear or see;
But I've a God that lives above,
A God of power, a God of love,
A God of revelation—Oh that's the God for me! &c.

"A Church without Apostles is not the Church for me,
It's like a ship dismasted, afloat upon the sea;
But I've a Church that's always led
By the twelve stars around its head;
A Church with good foundations—Oh! that's the Church for me! &c.

- "A Church without a prophet is not the Church for me ;
It has no head to lead it ; in it I would not be ;
 But I've a Church not made by man,
 Cut from the mountain without hand—
A Church with gifts and blessings—Oh ! that's the Church for
me ! &c.
- "A Church without a gathering is not the Church for me ;
The Saviours would not order it, whatever it might be ;
 But I've a Church that's called out
 From false traditions, fear, and doubt,
A gathering dispensation—Oh ! that's the Church for me !" &c.

Setting aside the fearful blasphemy imbodyed in the first stanza, there is in the above hymn, (if it be not irreverent so to apply the word,) a warm, zealous, and almost Catholic spirit, with which one cannot but sympathize in part, as contrasting most happily with the subjective tendency of Protestant hymnology, wherever it rises above its tamest form. It is only sad to see zeal and devotion so miserably misplaced, and men following "false prophets," and mistaking a "strong delusion" of yesterday for the Church of Christ and His holy Apostles. But such, we repeat, are the necessary fruits of Protestantism. By that religious revolution which marked the beginning of the sixteenth century, it created in the heart of Northern Christendom an aching void which it could not fill up ; and consequently, the "Latter Day Saints" have found it no difficult task to step in, and to gain over the votaries of Protestantism by hundreds and thousands, by the very boldness of their claim to those supernatural powers which Protestantism so emphatically disowns.

We cannot find room for much information which would be interesting as to the casting out of devils, (on one occasion twenty-seven in number) by the "holy priesthood" of the Mormonites, the healing of diseases by the touch of a Mormon preacher, and by the imposition of his hands, joined with anointing, and with prayer. Of course Dr. Sexton—who classes together as "Antichristian" systems, both Atheism, Mahometanism, Socinianism, Mormonism, and 'Romanism,'—laughs to scorn the very existence of supernatural powers in any shape or form, believing in the Protestant axiom, that "God is dead." Mr. Frere, who writes himself "Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of London," does much the same, for he clearly would lead

us to infer that St. Paul's assertion, that "Miracles should cease," (1 Cor. xiii.) has been already verified in fact, and does not refer to the great day when, like "faith" and "hope," miracles will be swallowed up in the far higher order of things that shall then commence. Neither can we find place for a philosophical refutation of the atheistical doctrine which the Mormonites profess as to the eternity of matter. Two doctrines, however, are ascribed to them which would seem to demand a more especial notice, we mean those of "*Baptism for the Dead*," and of "*Spiritual wives*." It is a received practice among the Mormonites to "baptise for the dead," a ceremony which they base upon their own private interpretation of St. Paul's words to the Corinthians, "What shall they do that are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not again at all? Why are they then baptized for them?" (1. Cor. xv. 29.) This passage of Holy Scripture they interpret literally with certain heretics of old, believing that if they have a relative or friend dead and in the regions of everlasting punishment, they can remove such a soul from hell to a state of glory and of bliss by undergoing the process of a vicarious baptism at the hands of a "Latter-Day" elder or priest. Dr. Sexton indeed asserts that this is not a new tenet of the "Latter-Day Saints;" our readers will be amused to hear that he has discovered it to be a practice which not only was introduced by certain heretics into the church at a very early period, but which "*has been retained, with a slight modification, in the Roman Church up to the present time*" (p. 109). We can only say for ourselves that we have never heard of its existence. As we write mainly for the benefit of Catholic readers, we feel sure that we need not enter into defence of the Church on this score; the following passage, which we take from the Encyclopedia Britannica (Art. Baptism.) is nearer the truth: "St. Chrysostom tells us that this (vicarious baptism) was practised among the Marcionites with a great deal of ridiculous ceremony, which he thus describes; 'After any catechumen was dead, they hid a living man under the bed of the deceased, then coming to the dead man, they asked him whether he would receive baptism; and he, making no answer, the other answered for him, and said that he would be baptized in his stead; and so they baptized the living for the dead.' It is to be observed that it was the sect of the Marcionites, and not

the Catholic Church, which ever adopted this practice. Guided by the infallible Spirit of God alike in her actions and in her interpretation of Holy Scripture, the Church applies the well-known words of St. Paul to the baptism of tears and sufferings and penitential labours undergone by the living for the souls of the faithful departed; a sense of the term which alone accords with the context, and most nearly akin to that in which our Blessed Saviour used the word βαπτίζεσθαι, when he said to his Apostles, "I have a baptism wherewith I am to be baptized" (St. Luke xii. 50.).

As to the "Spiritual wife" doctrine,* it is not very easy at first glance to determine whether it is one that can justly be charged upon the Latter Day Saints as a body or not. We who are Catholics, know well by sad experience, how little reliance can be placed on the ideas which popularly prevail concerning any body of religionists (especially when they are themselves the object of public aversion), and how hard it is for persons external to any religious system to ascertain the real state of things as they appear to those who are within its pale: moreover, our holy religion teaches us not to believe what is bad of our neighbour without something which approaches to actual proof. It is but fair, then, to state that the

* "The *New York Police Gazette*," (says the *Guardian* of January 21st. 1852) "contains a mass of disgusting details relative to the proceedings of the Mormons at the Salt Lake." A correspondent of that paper, writing from Utah, Deseret, says:—"The pluralist wife system is in full vogue here. Governor Young is said to have ninety wives. He drove along the streets with sixteen of them in a long carriage, fourteen of them having each an infant at her breast. It is said that Heber, C. Kimball, one of the Triune Council, and the second person in the (Mormon) Trinity, has an almost equal number, and among them are a mother and her two daughters. Each man can have as many wives as he can maintain, that is, after the women have first been picked out, and culled by the head men. Whole pages might be filled with the surprising and disgusting details of the state of affairs here in the Far West." Public attention, we believe, was first drawn towards these facts in a report made to the American government by an American judge, who was deputed to inquire into the political and moral condition of the Mormonites, with a view to the admission of their territory into the confederate union.

"Book of Doctrines and Covenants" contains the following passages:—

"And again, I command thee that thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife."....."Thou shalt love thy wife with all thy heart, and shalt cleave unto her and to none else : and he that looketh upon a woman to lust after her, shall deny the faith and shall not have the spirit ; and if he repents not he shall be cast out."....."And if any man or woman shall commit adultery, he or she shall be tried before two elders of the Church, or more.....and the elders shall lay the case before the Church, and the Church shall lift up their hands against him or her, that they may be dealt with according to the Law of God."

And further still—

"Inasmuch as this Church of Christ has been reproached with fornication and polygamy, we declare that we believe that one man should have one wife, and one woman but one husband."

The letters, too, addressed by the leaders of the Mormonite body to the "Saints," abound in terms severely reprobating polygamy, seduction, and fornication in every shape and kind. The formularies, then, and written documents of the Mormonite body we must acquit of all charge of immorality on this score. But it seems equally clear to us, after making this due admission, that Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and the other leaders of the "Latter Day Saints," were specially exempted from those laws which regulated the moral and social condition of the body in general. Like Mahomet, and the caliphs who succeeded him, just so Smith, Harris, Rigdon, Pratt, and the rest of the spiritual rulers among the Mormonites, seem to have received, or rather to have reserved to themselves, a special exemption from the laws which bound the Saints to monogamy. The following passage from the "Mormons" will illustrate our meaning:—

"But there were men in the Church who despised Joseph Smith as an impostor while pretending to believe in him ; knaves who used Mormonism to their own purposes either of sensuality or ambition, and who led them into continual difficulty by their extravagant licentiousness. Many of these persons pretended to have 'revelations' quite as valid as those of Joseph, by which they were allowed to have as many wives as the patriarchs of old, provided they could afford to maintain them. Joseph would not tolerate this scandal, and every offender was forthwith excommunicated, and

publicly declared to be cut off from the Church. One man of this kind, named Higbee.....gave him more trouble than all the rest.....Higbee, it appears, had been publicly accused by Joseph of having seduced several women, and was cut off from the Mormon Church in consequence.....Higbee sued Joseph before the Municipal Court of Nauvoo for slander.....At this trial several disclosures were made, which went to prove a most deplorable laxity of morals on the part of men who had once been members and office-bearers of the Church, and who had been 'cut off' for their adulteries and 'handed over to Satan' by the prophet and other heads of the sect." (P. 157.)

The upshot of the matter seems to have been that Higbee turned the tables upon poor Joseph Smith, and publicly accused him of the very same crimes of which he had himself been charged. In particular, one Dr. Foster, a Mormonite, openly accused Smith of having visited his wife during his absence, for the immoral purpose of inducing her to become his "spiritual wife." It is true that the Court dismissed the charge as scandalous; but it was given in evidence on that occasion, that "some of the elders had ten or twelve spiritual wives a-piece: and that they entered the names of the women in a large book which was kept at Hiram Smith's; and that when an elder or other Mormon wanted to seduce a woman, he led her to see this book opened, when if her name was entered, she was told that it was the will of heaven that she should submit, and she submitted accordingly." In the first number of a paper called the *Expositor*, published at Nauvoo, by Dr. Foster, were given the affidavits of sixteen young women, to the effect that Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and other leaders, had endeavoured to convert them to the "spiritual wife" doctrine, and to seduce them under the plea of having had especial permission from heaven. We are also told, in "The Mormons" (p. 310), that "Joseph Smith is accused of having taught a system of polygamy; that he sought to seduce Nancy Rigdon, Sarah Pratt, and others; that in some instances he was repulsed, in others he succeeded. Smith is also accused of having endeavoured to secure Martha Brotherton of Manchester, for his friend Brigham Young; in both cases attempting to influence his victims by persuading them that he had received a revelation from God justifying adultery, seduction, and other sins." A letter of Martha Brotherton is subjoined, which states the entire matter

in such offensive detail, that we could hardly present it to our readers. It will be sufficient to say that it abundantly proves the charge in one case, if its writer be judged worthy of belief; and of this we have at hand no means of judging. We have only to add that Smith did not deny the charge brought against him by Martha Brotherton, but declared that "he did it in order to make trial of her, as they had heard an evil report of her." Our readers must draw their own conclusions from the above facts—(suspicious enough, we confess)—which we have endeavoured to lay before them with perfect impartiality. We can do no more.*

It is our opinion that we have already sufficiently dwelt on Mormonism, in a religious point of view, and that little

* As to the conduct and practices of the Mormons, Mr. Ruxton, in his "Life in the far West," informs us that the people of Missouri, among whom they first established themselves, considered them as "bad neighbours, on account of their pilfering propensities, and their utter disregard of the conventional decencies of society; exhibiting the greatest immorality, and endeavouring to establish amongst their society an indiscriminate concubinage."..... But that they "tolerated their presence among them, until they openly proclaimed their intention of seizing upon the country, and of expelling by force the present occupants; giving, as their reason, that it had been revealed to their prophets that THE LAND OF ZION was to be possessed by themselves alone." (p. 273.) The end of this was that the people of Missouri expelled them; and that they fled to Clay country, "where they established themselves, and would finally have formed a thriving settlement, but for their own acts of wilful dishonesty. At this time their blasphemous mummery knew no bounds. Joe Smith, and other 'prophets,' who had lately arisen, were declared to be the chosen of God; and it was the general creed, that on the day of Judgment the former would take his stand on the right hand of the judgment seat, and that none would pass into the kingdom of heaven without his seal and touch. One of their tenets was the faith in *spiritual matrimony*. No woman, it appeared, would be admitted into heaven, unless *passed* by a Saint. To qualify them for this, it was necessary that the woman should first be received by the guaranteeing Mormon, as an *earthly wife*."..... "The consequence of this state of things," says Mr. Ruxton, "may be imagined. The most debasing immorality was the precept of the order, and an almost universal concubinage existed among the sect; which at this time numbered at least forty thousand. Their disregard to the laws of decency and morality was such, as could not be tolerated in any class of civilized society," (p. 274,5.)

more would remain to be said about it, if we regarded it merely in the light of a system of *religious* belief and practice. But the clever and sharp-sighted founder of Mormonism did not aim at being merely the author of a religious movement, he aspired also to become the author of a political revolution. Our Blessed Lord, indeed, declared that His "kingdom was not of this world;" but with Smith it was far otherwise. Social position and influence, political power, to be looked up to as the object in whom the political influence of his followers should centre; in other words, the possession of temporal authority; this was the thing which, from the first, he coveted with all his heart. In Joseph Smith the religious enthusiast becomes almost entirely absorbed in the character of the political adventurer. To establish a new religious sect was in his opinion, doubtless, a great thing. It was, doubtless, a greater thing to ensure that sect "a local habitation and a name" that should not perish. It was a great thing to give exalted sanctions to certain religious doctrines and practices: but it was far greater to provide for their perpetuity by enshrining them in a definite and visible polity, which should embody those doctrines and practices in the very constitution of its being. It was much to have invented the system of Mormonite belief, by remoulding an old American romance into a second volume of the Holy Bible; but it was far more to gain possession of a beautiful tract of country almost as large as England, whether it be called Utah or Deseret; and to aspire to obtain for his new community admission upon equal terms, as a free state, to the great confederation of American Republics.*

* For the view of General Smith upon the government and policy of the United States, the reader will do well to refer to the lengthy but interesting "address to the American people," given in the *Mormons*, p. 133—142, and containing some clever criticism upon the previous policy of American statesmen during the preceding half century. The following extract will be interesting as showing the wide and cosmopolitan ideas and feelings of the illiterate adventurer. "In the United States the people are the government, and their united voice is the only sovereign that should rule; the only power that should be obeyed, and the only gentlemen that should be honoured, at home or abroad, on the land and on the sea. Wherefore, were I President of the United States, by the voice of a virtuous people, I would honour the old paths of the venerated fathers of freedom. I would walk in the tracks of the illustrious

We must, therefore, entreat the forgiveness of our readers while we set before them some of the fortunes and misfortunes which have attended the Latter Day Saints as a political body from their first origin to the present time.

As soon as the Latter Day Saints outgrew the scanty numbers of the families of Smith and Whitmer, and had gained an accession of adherents from without, they moved to Kirtland in Ohio, to avoid the persecution which already began to assail them. "From the very commencement of their organization," says the narrative from which we have so largely quoted already, "the attention of the little band was directed to the policy and expediency of fixing their head quarters in the Far West, in the thinly-settled and but partially explored territories belonging to the United States, where they might squat upon or purchase good lands at a cheap rate, and clear the primæval wilderness. They required elbow-room, and rightly judged that a rural population would be more favourable than an urban one to the reception of their doctrine." The messenger whom Smith sent to explore those parts, brought back so favourable an account of the beauty, fertility, and cheapness of the land in Jackson County, Missouri, that the "prophet" himself set out on a journey thither, and after a month of weary walking, he reached Missouri itself. The prophet was enraptured with the climate, soil, and productions of the region, and at once made up his mind that there should be the settle-

patriots who carried the ark of the government on their shoulders, with a single eye to the glory of the people; and when that people petitioned to abolish slavery in the slave-states, I would use all honourable means to have their prayers granted.....When the people petitioned for a national bank, I would use my best endeavours to have their prayers assured, and establish one on national principles to save taxes, and make them controllers of its ways and means.....I would lend the influence of a chief magistrate.....that they might extend the mighty efforts and enterprise of a free people from the east to the west sea, and to make the wilderness blossom as the rose. And when the neighbouring nations petitioned to join the union of the sons of liberty, my word would be "*Come, let us be brethren, let us be one great family, and let there be universal peace.*" The whole of the correspondence of Smith with Messrs. Calhoun and Clay will be found worthy of attentive perusal, as letting the reader a little into the real character of the "Prophet of Nauvoo."

ment of his people: and that there might be no dissension, an express "revelation" commencing with the words; "Hearken, O ye elders of my Church, saith the Lord your God," &c., was received and delivered to the "Saints" in strict accordance with the earnest desires of the "prophet," who returned to Kirtland to prepare his people for their removal. We can only state that, after surmounting incredible difficulties in their march, and having repeatedly experienced the severest persecution, his united body of followers effected their arrival at Missouri. Here the same systematic persecution awaited them: and once and a second time they were expelled from Missouri, chiefly, it would seem, by the outcry raised against them by the religious fanaticism of rival sectaries; an outcry which more than once was raised at the expense of bloodshed, and required repeatedly the interference of the public authorities in order to suppress it. Driven by the pitiless storm of persecution from Missouri, the sect, nothing daunted, and numbering now some 15,000 souls, took refuge in Illinois. The following sketch of their spirited and successful efforts will not be out of place:—

"Many . . . flocked to the new location of the sect from all parts of the union, and even from England, to make a last stand against oppression, and to support the prophet against his enemies. The organization of the sect began to be more fully and admirably developed; and the Mormons were, even at this early period of their career, a pre-eminently industrious, frugal, and pains-taking people. They felt the advantages of co-operation. Though robbed and plundered, they did not lose their time in vain repinings, but set themselves to repair the calamities they had suffered. The needy were aided by the more affluent in the purchase of land, and in the plenishing of their farms; and the inducement which they held out to skilled mechanics and others to join them, were not merely of a religious and spiritual, but of a social and worldly character. The Mormons, as a body, understood the dignity and the holiness of hard work, and they practised to the fullest extent the duty of self-reliance. They soon found themselves so numerous in the vicinity of the village of 'Commerce,' that their leaders conceived the project of converting it, first, into a town, and afterwards into a city. They gave it the name of 'Nauvoo,' or the 'Beautiful,' a word that occurs in the Book of Mormon. In the course of a year and a half they erected about 2,000 houses, besides schools and other public buildings, and called the place the "Holy City." Joseph Smith was appointed its mayor, and for a brief period in his troubled career, enjoyed the supremacy which was the

great object of his existence, and the darling dream of his ambition. His word was law; he was both the temporal and spiritual head of his people, and enjoyed, beside the titles of 'Prophet,' President, and Mayor, the military title of General Smith, in right of his command over a body of militia, which he organized under the name of the 'Nauvoo legion.'"—('The Mormons,' p. 108.)

The next thing required in Illinois was a church or temple, which should serve as a centre for the religious affections of the saints. A new "revelation," as usual, was extemporized for the occasion, and the foundation stone of the Nauvoo house was laid on April 6th, 1841, within less than two years and a half after the sect had been driven from Missouri. So thoroughly does persecution fail in its intended effect when employed to suppress any form of religious belief. We need not dwell here on the perfect development of political action in every department of the Mormon state, and we may dismiss it at once by saying that it certainly presents us with a wonderful picture of what great things can be effected by unity of action in religious matters.

How great were the results of Mormonite energy and industry, may best be learned from the following testimony of an Englishman who visited Nauvoo before the death of Joseph Smith.

"The city is of great dimensions, laid out in beautiful order; the streets are wide, and cross each other at right angles. The city rises on a gentle incline from the rolling Mississippi; at your side is the temple, the wonder of the world; round about and beneath, you may behold handsome stores, large mansions, and fine cottages. . . . The inhabitants seem to be a wonderfully enterprising people. The walls of the temple have been raised considerably this summer, and it is calculated, when finished, to be the glory of Illinois. They are endeavouring to establish manufactories in the city. They have enclosed large farms on the prairie ground, on which they have raised corn and wheat, hemp, &c.; and all this they have accomplished within the short space of four years. I do not believe that there is another people in existence who could have made such improvements in the same length of time under the same circumstances. . . . Peace and harmony reign in the city. The drunkard is scarcely ever seen as in other cities; neither does the awful imprecation or profane oath strike upon your ear; but while all is storm and tempest and confusion abroad respecting the Mormons, all is peace and harmony at home." (The Mormons, p. 128—9.)

The result of the pitch of prosperity attained by the political creation of Joseph Smith, seems to have led "the prophet" to look for further temporal advancement. At all events, when he was now at the climax of earthly glory, his sect being augmented from time to time by the English emigration from Liverpool, the "prophet" and "general" of Nauvoo allowed himself to be put forward as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. With reference to this end, he actually published a long document as an address to the American people, containing a lengthy exposition of his views on political economy, and entered into a correspondence with Messrs. Clay and Calhoun, who were looked upon as his most formidable competitors for that exalted post. But for these documents we have no room. We must hasten on to the tragical conclusion of our story. Helen was the downfall of Troy, and the "Spiritual wife" doctrine to which we have already alluded, was the immediate cause of the expulsion of the Mormonites from Illinois, and indeed of the murder of Joseph and Hiram Smith by the infuriated populace of the surrounding country, who rose up in arms against the "prophet" for demolishing the printing-office of a hostile paper, edited by a seceder from the Mormon body, and could be satisfied with nothing short of his blood. Accordingly, though the "prophet" and his brother surrendered themselves to justice under an express promise and guarantee of their personal safety from attack, the mob broke into the prison at Carthage, where the brothers were temporarily confined, and barbarously shot them in cold blood. A more perfidious and revolting act of murder has seldom been read or recorded; its perpetrators were never discovered or brought to justice.

Such was the end of the great prophet of the Latter Day Saints. The rest of the story it is easy to relate. The "Latter Day Saints," in spite of the murder of their prophet, attempted no act of retaliation, but set about electing a successor, and as Sidney Rigdon pretended to certain "revelations" contradictory to those which had been delivered by "the prophet," he was summoned to answer before the "twelve apostles" for having "lied before the Lord," and "sought the destruction of His saints," and was publicly sentenced to excommunication, and handed over to the buffetings of Satan until he should repent. This, doubtless, was a stroke of policy rather than of justice, for "it was felt

that if he had done nothing else to injure the sect, the 'spiritual wife doctrine' was alone sufficient to make him a dangerous ally." Brigham Young succeeded to the presidency of the Mormon church. Nothing daunted by the murder of Smith, the whole community of the "Holy City" (for such was the name which they gave it,) set immediately about completing the temple of Nauvoo, and in the course of a few months the structure was finished. The Mormonites could not restrain their feelings of exulting self-gratulation; they gave vent to their feelings of joy "in vain glorious boasts at the partial fulfilment of the prophecies, which would not be thoroughly fulfilled until the whole land was their own, and none but a Mormon permitted to remain in it, from the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic." These expressions were fatally ill calculated to allay the feelings of exasperation against the sect and city among the neighbours who surrounded them. Violent and continual feuds arose; skirmish succeeded skirmish; blood was again shed; until at length the popular fury once more broke forth, and in September, 1846, after a siege of three days, expelled the whole Mormon population from Nauvoo at the point of the sword. The beautiful city, with its stately temple, the pride of America itself, was gradually depopulated, and reduced to a wide and desolate solitude; and not long after the temple itself sunk in flames, the work of an incendiary.

It was clear that henceforth Illinois was no longer a fit place for the head-quarters of the Mormons. "Arise, let us go hence," was written upon its very front, as on every stone. Once and again new "revelations" pointed to the same course, as the only means of preservation for the ill-fated race. Another migration was necessary; and accordingly, those who hitherto had fixed their abode in the regions of Missouri, and Illinois, near the banks of the Mississippi, in the hope and almost certainty, that here was to be the promised Jerusalem of their race, a "city whose foundations should not be moved," found themselves, after all their labours, forced a third time to seek a distant home on the coast of the Pacific; and so, just as the Phœcean population of old, fleeing before the victorious advance of Cyrus,

Agros, atque Lares proprios, habitandaque fana
 Apris reliquit et rapacibus lupis,
 Ire pedes quocunque ferent.....

the "Latter Day Saints" at once prepared to make their final Exodus. The Valley of the "Great Salt Lake," in Upper California, beyond the Rocky Mountains, was fixed on as the halting place and future home of the exiled people. Their journey from Nauvoo to the Great Salt Lake has been so often described, that we will not attempt to tell in our own words a story for which our readers should consult the "Contemporary History of the Mormons," if they wish to read a narrative which, in interest, scarcely falls short of Xenophon's "Retreat of the Ten Thousand," or the passage of the army of Xerxes into Europe and back again, as recorded in the pages of the Father of History. Enough to say, that after encountering all the trials of climate and weather, after crossing boundless and trackless prairies, fording immense rivers, and conveying their waggons, their oxen, and their families, over the tops of lofty mountains, the greater part of the race, in successive companies, during the years 1847 and 1848, accomplished their journey to their future home in Utah, or Deseret, in the Far West; not however without the loss of hundreds and thousands, whom they buried on their way in the wild wilderness. The history of the Mormons, ever since their arrival at Deseret, has been a wonderful record of unbroken prosperity; and a constant tide of immigration from Liverpool is perpetually reinforcing their numbers. They are at unity with themselves; at peace with their neighbours; their soil is unequalled in fertility; agriculture and manufactures thrive among them; and it seems as though the elements of fortune were now conspiring to compensate them for the undue share of suffering which they experienced at Nauvoo. In fact, they may well be pardoned for deeming the success that has attended them miraculous. "Dwelling in the heart of their American Alps, they mean now to seek no other resting place. After pitching camps enough to exhaust, many times over, the catalogue of names in the 33rd Chapter of the Book of Numbers, they have come at last to their 'Promised Land,' and behold, it is 'a good land, and large, and flowing with milk and honey;' and here again, among them, as at Nauvoo, the forge smokes, and the anvil rings, and the whirring wheels go round. Again has returned the merry sport of childhood, and the evening quiet of old age, and again dear house-pot flowers bloom in garden plots round happy homes."—(*The Mormons*, p. 230.)

And now, in conclusion, what is the opinion which, as Catholics, we are bound to entertain concerning Mormonism? Should we regard it as a fresh development of Protestantism, as a further apostacy from the Faith? or are we to look upon it as a step back in the right direction? We think that neither of these views would be quite correct. For ourselves, we should rather feel inclined to regard it as an open testimony to the truth of the Catholic Church, wrung from the reluctant hand of Protestantism itself; a testimony like that afforded to the divine commission of Moses and Aaron by the Egyptian sorcerers, when they strove to imitate and to rival the wonderful signs and miracles by which the chosen leaders of Israel convinced both Pharaoh and his attendants that they themselves were prophets sent from God. It is true that the wise men and magicians of Egypt, "by enchantments and certain secrets," found themselves able to turn their rods into serpents, and to perplex the king by their successful imitations of divine powers; but we are told, that in spite of this, "Aaron's rod devoured their rods." (Exod. vii. 10, 12.) In like manner, although the Holy Church of God still comes forward, confronting the kings and the princes of this world with her supernatural gifts and powers, and by shewing that, in the nineteenth century, as in the first, she is possessed of those spiritual gifts which were bestowed upon her once for all, at the great day of Pentecost; yet rival powers come forth from him of whom Pharaoh and his host are but a type, and standing before the world, pretend to shew forth the same signs of their authority and commission. Those "Egyptian enchantments" and "certain secrets," proved of no avail when confronted with the higher power which was wielded by the hands of Moses and Aaron; and just so there is upon the earth, one, and one only power, in whose presence the pretended miracles and gifts and revelations of the "Latter Day Saints" will be found to shrink back abashed, and to confess themselves powerless. We mean the Catholic Church, the Church of the living God, who, for eighteen long centuries has never ceased to claim and to exercise those spiritual powers which "Latter day Saints" in vain pretend to have ceased with the last of the Apostles, and to have been renewed only to themselves. And hence it is, that while in Protestant countries, the religion of Mormon comes in to supply the aching void which Luther's schism

created in the human heart, and which he left as an abiding legacy to his deluded followers, there is no single country of Europe, or America, in which the Supremacy of St. Peter's Chair is recognized, and the voice of God's true Church is heard, where Mormonism has yet found, or can find, rest for the sole of its feet. And this is no work of chance. To the discerning eye, it plainly proves how utterly powerless is the religion which proclaims its adherence to "the Bible, and nothing but the Bible," to withstand the designs of the evil one, and to repel those who come to "preach another Gospel," contrary to that which it believes to be divine; and how truly it is the prerogative of the Church of God, and of her alone, to detect and to resist all those delusions and impostures which are the overthrow of all human systems of belief.*

* In the English Review, No. xvii. (March 1848) there is a very interesting article on "Irvingism," which gives an account of the origin and early progress of the Irvingite Sect in England, and draws out a very close parallel between their history and that of the Montanist heresy of the second and third centuries, and of the appearance of the French Prophets at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In Nos. xxvii. and xviii. a comparison is made between Irvingism and Mormonism, as two rival systems of spiritual delusion. We have not either the time, space, or inclination to enter into an elaborate discussion on the subject. We think that both Mormonism and Irvingism are essentially one, as being necessary results of the reaction of man's heart against the cold chill which Protestantism has contrived to throw over the human race in our northern latitude. They would seem to differ only in one respect, namely, that while Mermonism rudely appeals to the vulgar and illiterate. Irvingism suits itself to minds of a more educated and refined class, and (as far as we know) has not been charged with those immoralities of which it is almost impossible to acquit the leaders of the Mormon body. The "*Narrative of Events*," an autobiography of the Irvingite Sect, printed for private circulation among their own members, thus speaks (p. 6—7) of the birth of Irvingism in terms wonderfully similar to those in which the Latter-Day-Saints dwell upon the first growth of Mormonism. "In 1830, certain members of the (established) church of Scotland, who had been instructed to look for and expect a revival in the church of Christ, and to hope and desire the restoration of the Holy Ghost... ..were visited in the spiritual power, and yielding to the movement of the spirit within them, gave utterance to the voice of the Comforter, and thus, 'with stammering lips and another tongue,' (Isaiah xxviii. 2) put to shame the spiritual pride and intellectual

drunkenness of the age, and in tongues of prophesying offered rest and refreshment to the simple and child-like.....Some persons in London, members of the (established) Church of England, who were partakers of the like faith, received also the like answer from God; the Holy Ghost vouchsafing to these also to speak with tongues and prophesyings." The *Testimony*, also, another esoteric book of the sect, after describing the Church as she should be, bearing the characteristics of oneness, holiness, Catholicity, and apostolicity, thus portrays the "failure of the baptized."

"We pause from the contemplation of this mighty mystery..... and we look abroad to behold, in the baptized, an anti-type of this vision of beauty, blessedness, and glory,.....which consists in righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. We look for an united body, the saints of God, manifesting his holiness, the purity and truth which becomes his children. We look for that ministration of the spirit, more glorious than that of the law, through the various channels ordained in the beginning, in the completeness whereof God is revealed; for by the gifts which he has given, he dwells in his Church. We look for an united people, as a body bearing witness to God in the eyes of all men that he is their Father, and they his children, and to whom he giveth witness before all men by the mighty works of the Holy Ghost.....But that ordinance whereby he baptizes with the Holy Ghost and with fire has departed.....The powers of the world to come.....are all disappeared.....Oh! for the awakening of the baptized from the long lethargy in which they have been buried! for a ceasing from the petty controversies and divisions, the heart-burnings and oppositions, the Eastern Church against the Western, the Roman Catholics against the Protestants, wherewith Satan has distracted their attention!.....What section of the baptized beareth in its outward lineaments or in its inward spirit the character of the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church?.....But though man is deceived, God is not mocked. In vain he searcheth the face of Christendom for the *marks* of the Christian Church. The churches, called by various names, furnish them not. Unity, the foundation of all the rest, is utterly destroyed. Without this, the others cannot be possessed. The holiness described in Scripture is that of a body united and visible, complete in all its parts, each part in its own measure manifesting holiness.....Again, without unity and holiness, Catholicity cannot exist;—an united Church, a holy people, can alone preach the Gospel to every creature, or teach all nations to observe all things which the Lord hath commanded, and can cause all men to believe and know that God hath sent His Son to be the Savior of the world. And, lastly, the one Holy Catholic Church can alone be apostolic; for it is in such a body alone that God hath set 'first apostles,' and such alone can send forth apostles, or other ministers by apostles ordained, to bear that witness, and to communicate that life for which the Church was

constituted. The Christian body as it is, can send forth only the missionaries of a sect, or of many sects, to the nations of the heathen. It cannot furnish Apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers to minister from the body the one faith and the one spirit.....As truly as the angels left their first estate, as certainly as the nations before the flood apostatized and quenched the light given unto them from God through Adam, as surely as the Jews who crucified the Lord rejected the counsel of God against themselves, so truly the baptized have fallen from the glorious standing wherein God placed the Church at the beginning." (the *Testimony*, §. 52.) On this basis, the apostacy of Christians, and the consequent failure (to the greatest possible extent at least) of Christ's promise of his perpetual presence to the end of time, the Irvingite system reposes, as does that of the Mormons. It will not be uninteresting to append in this place the reflections of the English Review on Irvingism and Mormonism, written, not in the year 1852, but in the palmy High-Church days of September, 1850.

"The next duty which devolves upon us, if we would deprive the two sects in question of one of the most plausible arguments on which their system of fallacy and delusion is built, is a firm, deliberate, and decisive stand against the sin of schism. So long as the infidel or the fanatic can point to the endless divisions of Christendom, as proofs that nothing certain is known touching the Church and the truth of Christ, he has a powerful argument at his command. To cut away this argument from under him, there is but one method.....It can only be done by drawing a sharp line of distinction between Catholicity and Schism; by showing where the Church ends, and where Schism begins.....So long as we do not make good the ground of our own (established) Church, as being Catholic in position as well as doctrine, antagonistically against Rome, we are unable to silence the Irvingite or the Mormonite, when he adduces the actual separation of the branches of the Church from each other, as an evidence of the failure of the Church. The existence of divisions, heresies, and schisms is no argument against the truth of the Church, because their rise is predicted in the (written) word of God. But the existence of separate churches, all having an equal right to assert their character as Churches, and yet irreconcilably divided from each other, is wholly at variance with what Holy Scripture leads us to expect; and therefore it furnishes a plausible ground for the assertion that the Church of Christ, as she was founded by him, no longer exists in the world. And from this view there is but one step to the admission of the necessity of a new dispensation for the purpose of restoring the Church, preparatory to the advent of her Lord." (English Review. No. xxvii. Article, "Spiritual gifts and spiritual delusions. pp. 137—8.) A more fatal and suicidal submission we never read from any Anglican pen. We could not ourselves express in more appropriate terms our own firm conviction that *nothing short of an infalli-*

ble living Church, Catholic, not only in name, but in reality, can offer any resistance to the specious reasonings and plausible pretensions of either Mr. Irving or Mr. Smith. Would that High Anglicans could be led by the grace of God to reflect as they ought upon the confessions and admissions of their own writers. So far as intellectual conviction is concerned, they could not desire a better argument to justify themselves to their brethren, if they resolved at once to make their submission to the Catholic Church.

ART. IV.—1. *The Literature and Romance of Northern Europe.* By WILLIAM and MARY HOWITT. 2 vols. London: Colburn and Co., 1852.

2. *Northern Mythology, comprising the principal Popular Traditions and Superstitions of Scandinavia, North Germany, and the Netherlands.* By BENJAMIN THORPE. 3 vols. London: Lumley, 1851.

A FEW years ago we were seriously asked by a noble peer, one of her Majesty's ministers, whether there was any literature in Denmark, Sweden, or Norway, deserving of the name? whether anything indeed, had ever emanated from the press of those kingdoms, beyond mere light essays, such as characterize the infancy of letters in a nation. We were not then surprised at the question, for until the last half dozen years, the most profound ignorance existed in England, in regard to the poets, philosophers, and historians of Scandinavia. Even as yet, we have only a few translations from the northern languages, and these are chiefly of agreeable novels, or of dramas, such as were most likely to repay the labours of the translators, and the costs of the publisher.

All praise is therefore due to William and Mary Howitt, for the two elegant volumes now before us. Even had they been superficially and carelessly compiled, they would have commanded our thanks, as they can justly claim the merit of having first opened out a mine of literary treasures, hitherto unknown and unappreciated in our island. And not to England alone does this reproach apply, of having neglected and ignored Scandinavian literature; the

rest of Europe, not even excepting Germany, must, more or less, share the blame. Still, there is, in regard to more southern Europe, one circumstance which greatly palliates this apparent neglect, viz., the total difference of their language, while to Englishmen the Danish and Swedish are cognate tongues, sprung, in a great measure, from one common root, and closely allied, as regards modes of composition and construction.

The tide of fashion is now, perhaps, turning from Germany towards the north. A hundred travellers now annually visit Scandinavia, where thirty years ago a solitary Englishman was occasionally met with, and though the majority of these may be in pursuit of salmon or of the elk and the rein-deer, there are ever some among them, who take an interest in the language and history of the country they are passing through. Our increased facilities of communication by steam will sooner or later inevitably render us familiar with the names and works of *Œhlenschläger* of *Geijer*, of *Ingemann*, and a host of others, hitherto unknown on this side of the German ocean.

The task of preparing a history of the literature of any country is no easy one; but in a land where the authors referred to are already partially known, it is, we think, less difficult, than to analyse the writings of a host of men whose names have never been heard of by the great majority of readers. Many of these writers, too, have been as prolific with their pen as our own *Bulwer* or *Sir Walter Scott*; many have described scenes and events unknown to the majority of Englishmen, and it is this, no doubt, which mainly contributed to the great success of *Andersen's* and *Miss Bremer's* works, when they first appeared in an English dress. Not but that there was talent, great and undoubted talent, in both the writers above named, but the charm of their genius was wonderfully heightened by the absolute originality of their compositions, and by the truth-inspiring homeliness of their narrative.

Unappalled by the number and importance of the works he has been required to examine, *Mr. Howitt* has added to the *Review of the Literature of Scandinavia*, an account of the romance of those countries. In this he has done wisely, though it has no doubt immensely augmented the labours of his task. The literature of Scandinavia, the poetical literature at least, is mainly dependent on its peculiar Romance for its attractive and inspiring character.

Northern literature enjoys in one respect a great advantage over that of the rest of Europe: it possesses a Mythology of its own, a mythology totally distinct from that of the heathen gods and goddesses, with which, from time immemorial, we have been surfeited. In the mythology of the Edda, there is a dignity and a depth of sentiment, combined with a vigour of expression, which we seek in vain among the sensual pagan deities of the south. The gods of Scandinavia are majestic beings, throned amidst rocks and everlasting snows, combating with all that is wild and fearful in nature, but ever retaining, on the whole, the impress of strength, and of unapproachable power.

Simultaneously with Mr. Howitt's volumes on the Literature and Romance of Scandinavia, have appeared the three volumes of Mr. Thorpe, an accomplished northern scholar, and one of the few who can aspire to that name in England. It is only the first of Mr. Thorpe's volumes that we intend to notice at present, for within the narrow limits of these remarks, it will be impossible to include the legendary tales and superstitions of Scandinavia, and of Germany, to which the two last volumes of Mr. Thorpe's work are entirely devoted. We propose at a future period to review the original books from which these legends are translated, so as to afford the reader some idea of their interesting and varied contents. For the same reason we shall pass over Mr. Howitt's chapters on the Ballad literature of Sweden and Denmark, confining ourselves to his and to Mr. Thorpe's notices of the mythology of the Edda, and to Mr. Howitt's sketches of the recent literary productions of the two countries. So extensive, however, is this portion of the subject, that Mr. Howitt's sketches often and necessarily degenerate into mere outlines, but wherever it has been in his power, he has evidently spared no pains, to give his readers, not merely the name and the personal history of the author, but likewise some idea of the nature of his writings by translations from his works. These are more or less successful, according to the style Mr. Howitt has adopted. Where he attempts to turn a poem or a ballad into English rhyme, he often fails, and is unable to render faithfully the spirit and fire of the original. We have seen translations of Swedish and Danish ballads and poems much more felicitous than those he has favoured us with. All, however,

who know the extreme difficulty of translating faithfully, yet spiritedly, a poem out of one language into another, will be disposed to deal leniently with Mr. Howitt in this respect. In literal translation he has been far more fortunate. We have carefully compared his version of the Departure of Frithiof, one of the incidents in Tegner's beautiful "*Frithiof's Saga*," with the original Swedish, and we confess that we are surprised at the close imitation of the original, which has been here attained. In the rendering of prose, too, Mr. Howitt has had much practice, and we are pleased to note how easily the narrative runs under his pen. No language is so easily translated into English as Danish or Swedish, scarcely a single sentence requires to be changed, and even many of the expressions are identical.

In his first or introductory chapter, Mr. Howitt combats vigorously the prevailing idea, that it is to the Anglo-Saxons that we owe all our boasted institutions, and that vigorous spirit of enterprise which has raised England so high in the scale of nations.

"In this respect," says he, "we have, up to this time, done strange injustice. Whenever the spirit, the progress, the expanding and onpouring populousness of the English race is mentioned, it is immediately designated the Anglo-Saxon family. It is to the Anglo-Saxon that we yield the palm of originating the undying vigour and impulsive qualities which mark the British people. It is the Anglo-Saxon blood, according to the chorus of modern writers of almost all countries, which is peopling the most distant climes, and the most gigantic continents. Is this true? On the contrary, we are persuaded that it is one of the greatest fallacies of the age.

"In the first place, we entirely agree with Thomas Carlyle that we are not Anglo-Saxons, but *English*. A thousand circumstances besides the admixture of blood, have gone to build us up into what we are. In the next place that admixture of blood will, on enquiry, not leave to the Anglo-Saxon portion of it that predominance which is usually attributed to it. There is first the old basis of the aboriginal Britons, who for unknown centuries possessed the island, and displayed, as Cæsar found, a brave and independent character. Then there was the superinduction of the Romans, with their fortitude and martial ambition, and this lasted about four-hundred years, or as long as the Anglo-Saxon, or rather the Saxon. The Saxons during their period of dominion, so far from showing themselves an enterprising and progressive people, notoriously degenerated; became slothful and weak, and were overrun

by the Danes, and soon after permanently subjected by the Normans, another branch of the Scandinavians.

"But if the Anglo Saxons sunk after a temporary rule in this country, where else did they exhibit those great and commanding qualities, which we are so fond of conferring on the Anglo-Saxon race? Nowhere! The so-called Anglo-Saxons were a mere handful of people in Holstein. And if we seek for them there, we shall find them in the still well-known district of Anglen, in inglorious obscurity, the reluctant subjects of Denmark."—p. 3.

Mr. Howitt then maintains, with Mr. Laing, that it is to the Scandinavians and Normans that we are indebted for all our glory. It may be so; but much of our prosperity has arisen from our insular position, from our comparative freedom from the consequences of war, and from the inexhaustible mineral riches we possess. Still we are unwilling to withdraw all claim to virtue, and to the formation of valuable laws and institutions from the Anglo-Saxons. They were of kindred race with the Scandinavians; and we doubt much the fact of their having so completely degenerated when the Danish pirates burst upon our shores. Perhaps, too, there was another cause, which, at the present day, should raise the pagan Danes greatly in the estimation of Protestants; and this was, as Mr. Howitt tells us, the hatred these martial hordes bore to Rome and to the Christian religion, *because it came to them from Rome with all its monks*, and what appeared to them effeminate doctrines:—

"The spirit, character, and natural vigour of the old Anglo-Saxon branch of this people, had evidently become extinct under the influence and pressure of the Church of Rome upon the energies of the human mind. This abject state of the mass of the old Christianized Anglo-Saxons is evident from the trifling resistance they made to the small piratical bands of Danes or Northmen who infested and settled on their coasts. It is to the renewal of the original institutions, social condition and spirit of Anglo-Saxon society, by the fresh infusion of these Danish conquerors into a very large proportion of the whole population in the eleventh century, that we must look for the actual origin of our national institutions, character, and principles of society."—p. 7.

To this it may be fairly objected, that the Danes, on settling in England, became Christians, and likewise subject to Rome; yet, to neither Mr. Howitt nor to Mr. Laing does it occur, that their change of religion ought to

have produced on them the same effect as on the Anglo-Saxons.

The mythology of the Edda is very fairly sketched by our author. It is no easy task, even with the most elaborate analysis, to give any consecutive idea of the mazes of northern mythology; for much of it has come down to us only in a fragmentary form. We are somewhat amused at Mr. Howitt's deep veneration for the Edda; he places it second only to the inspired books of Christianity, and evidently regards, with no unfriendly eye, the fierce paganism of our Scandinavian ancestors. Viewed through the deceptive mists of ages, the distinctive virtues of the Northmen, their martial valour, their enterprising spirit, and the freedom of their institutions stand prominently forward; while the dark vices of paganism, the rapine, the impurities, and the falsehood of the worship of idols, is hardly perceptible. But it was not so with those who came into actual contact with these fierce invaders. The monks and the monasteries were the objects of their deepest hatred; and this we suspect was, not so much for the effeminate lives they believed the inmates to lead, but because of the riches of those establishments, and of the influence of the clergy in rousing the inhabitants to repel the attacks of the pirates. Need we then wonder that the monks and missionaries of old felt it their duty to uproot idolatry from its base, and for this, found it necessary to blot out the very memory of the Hero Gods of Scandinavia from the land. Mr. Howitt may regret this, as antiquaries and sculptors may mourn over the broken statues of the Roman Forum; but stern measures were required, and mild persuasion would not avail in those rude times. If the old heathenism was kept alive for a time, as Mr. Howitt intimates, by the Skalds, their muse required to be silenced; or as was really the case, though Mr. Howitt mentions it not, these poets were taught to tune their harps to Christian themes, and these, surely, were more ennobling, and to the full as poetic, as the violences of Thor or the buffooneries of Loki. And yet, when heathenism had passed away, when it existed but in name, it was to the monks and priests of Iceland that we are indebted for all that has been preserved of the old Northern Mythology. The very manuscripts of the Eddas that yet remain have been transcribed by monks in the solitude of their cells: the only compilation of the Elder Edda, the source of all our

knowledge of the Scandinavian gods, was made by a priest of the Catholic Church, by Sæmund Sigfusson, surnamed "the learned," a priest of the Church of Oddé in Iceland, in the latter part of the eleventh century.

"Sæmund," says Mr. Howitt, "was not only a learned man, but a Christian priest. He was not only priest but skald, as is sufficiently evidenced by his own song 'the Sun song,' with which he closed the mythologic portion of the Edda. He is said to have travelled through many countries, and brought home thence a great mass of varied knowledge, and he is said likewise to have introduced the Roman Alphabet into Iceland."—p. 30.

We shall now proceed to compare Mr. Howitt's opinions of the Edda with the more cautious estimates of Mr. Thorpe on the same subject:—

"The Elder Edda," says Mr. Howitt, is the grand depository of the doctrines of the Odin Mythology, and of the lives and doings of the ancient Scandinavian Gods. It contains also a cycle of poems on the demi-gods and mythic heroes and heroines of the same period. It presents to us as complete a view of the mythological world of the north, as Homer does of that of Greece. But it presents this to us, not as Homer does, worked up into one grand poem, but as the rhapsodists of Greece presented to his hands the materials for that great poem in the various hymns and ballads of the Fall of Troy, which they sung all over Greece. No Homer ever arose in Scandinavia to mould all these sublime lyrics into one lordly epic. The story of Siegfried and Brynhild, which occupies the latter part of the Edda, found a poet in after ages to mould it into the great and beautiful "Nibelungen Lied," though much altered, probably by German tradition; but the poems of the Edda remain to show us what the myths of Greece would have been without Homer. They remain huge, wild, and frequently full of strange gaps, rent into their very vitals by the accidents of rude centuries, yet like the ruins of the Colosseum, or the temples of Pæstum, standing aloft amid the daylight of the present time, magnificent testimonies of the stupendous genius of the race which reared them. There is nothing besides the Bible which sits in a divine tranquillity of unapproachable nobility, like a king of kings amongst all other books, and the poem of Homer itself, which can compare in all the elements of greatness with the Edda. There is a loftiness of stature, and a growth of muscle about it which no poets of the same race have ever since reached."—p. 28.

"To the antiquity of some of these songs it would be vain to attempt to fix a limit. They carry you back to the East, the original region of the Gothic race. They give you glimpses of the 'Gudahem,' or home of the Gods, and of the sparkling waters of the original fountain of tradition."—p. 29.

It would be impossible here to enter into the entire subject of the Eddas, for that we must refer our readers to Mr. Howitt's really lucid conspectus of the contents of these celebrated poems, and we commend the author too, for not having attempted to interpret these mystic lays, beyond the lights afforded to us by almost contemporary commentators. The observations of Mr. Thorpe, on the various interpretations of the Eddas are, we think, exceedingly appropriate.

"On turning to the later interpretations of these dark ruins of the times of old, we meet with so many contradicting illustrations, that it is hardly possible to extract anything like unity amid so much conflicting matter. The obscure language in which the mythology of the North is expressed, the images of which it is full, the darkness in which the first mental developement of every people is shrouded, and the difficulty of rendering clear the connection between their religious ideas—all this leads every attempt at illustration sometimes in one, and sometimes in another direction, each of which has moreover several bye-ways, and many wrong ones.

"The old religion of the inhabitants of the North is, in fact, neither a collection of absurdities and insipid falsehoods, nor a fountain of exalted wisdom; but is the ideas of an uncultivated people with reference to the relation between the divine and the worldly, expressed in images intelligible to the infant understanding. The present time must not expect to find in it either a revelation of new ideas, or a guide to the way of happiness; even the poet of the present day will fail to discover in it a source of inspiration, except in so far as it may inspire him with a fitting dress for his own poetic images. In fact, the Eddaic lore is important, chiefly because it sheds light on the history of antiquity, on the development of the human mind in general, and on that of our forefathers in particular."—p. 119.

"Every religion of antiquity embraces not only the strictly religious elements, such as belief in the supernatural, and the influence of this belief on the actions of men, but in general all that knowledge which is now called science. The priests engrossed all the learning. Knowledge of nature, of language, of man's whole intellectual being and culture, of the historic origin of the state, and of the chief races, was clad in a poetic and often in a mythic garb, propagated by song and oral tradition, and at a later period, among the most cultivated of the people, particularly certain families, in writing. These disseminated amongst the great masses of the community whatever seemed to them most appropriate to the time and place. Such is the matter still extant in the Eddas, even as they now lie before us, after having passed through the middle age. The later interpreters are therefore unquestionably right in seeking

in these remains, not only traditions of the origin and destruction of the world, and of the relation of man to the Divinity, but also of the natural and historic knowledge possessed by antiquity.

"The mythic matter is comprised in two ancient monuments, the Elder and the Younger Edda, called usually after their supposed compilers, Sæmund's and Snorri's Eddas. The first mentioned contains songs that are older than Christianity in the North, and have been orally transmitted, and finally committed to writing in the middle age. They have for the most part reached us as fragments only, and several chasms have at a later period, with greater or less facility, been filled up by prosaic introductions or insertions. The other Edda consists of tales founded on, and often filled up with verses from the Elder, but which have been written down after the time of Paganism, preserved as memorials of the past, by individual scholars of the time; and to which here and there are added illustrations of some part of the subject. To all this are appended fragments of divers sorts of mythic learning, intended for the use of later skalds, as an illustration of, and guide to, the use of poetic expressions. Hence it will be manifest that the older of these collections is the most important, though to the understanding, arranging and completing of it, considerable help is found in the younger, and the interpretation of the one is not practicable without continually comparing it with the other. Where the myths of the Elder Edda are at all detailed and complete, they are full of poetry and spirit, but they often consist of dark allusions only, a defect which the younger Edda cannot supply; for here too we often meet with trivial and almost puerile matter, such as we may imagine the old religious lore to have become, when moulded into the later popular belief. It follows, therefore, that several myths now appear as poor insipid fictions, which in their original state were probably beautiful, both in form and substance. In both Eddas the language is often obscure, and the conception deficient in clearness, it appears moreover that several myths are lost, so that a complete exposition of the northern mythology is no longer to be obtained."—p. 134.

Mr. Thorpe's work is rather a philosophical disquisition on the relative value, and the interpretation of the various Eddaic compositions; Mr. Howitt does not attempt this, but very properly confines himself to giving a brief, but very clear and very readable sketch, of the tenor of the various myths. For this we refer our readers with confidence to his volumes, and we have never, in the course of extensive reading on the subject, found the tales and superstitions of the Eddas presented in so attractive a form. We are glad, however, to perceive, that with all his deep veneration for the majesty of the Northern mythology, Mr. Howitt does not neglect to do justice to one of the most noble composi-

tions yet remaining of the period when the Edda was first committed to writing, by the priest Sæmund the wise. It may be that our Christian and Catholic sympathies are peculiarly awakened by the doctrines and sentiments contained in this most noble poem, the "Sun-Song" of Sæmund, but we hesitate not to place it, in point of vigour and language, in terseness and force of expression, as fully equal to the best of the Eddaic compositions, while, from the deep spirit of Christianity that it breathes, it is immeasurably superior to the dark records of Thor, or of Odin in Valhalla. The poem opens, as Mr. Howitt observes, in a fragmentary and mysterious manner, giving at first, glimpses of strange and horrible stories, but intended to shew, that God sees what is done on earth, and prescribes and rewards accordingly. The real argument of the poem is an address from a departed father to his son on earth, describing the pains and terrors of his death, the bitter and long adieu he made to his earthly goods and pleasures, to nature, and to the glorious sun light, on the last evening he spent on earth. Mr. Howitt has omitted the part which, we think, contains some of the finest strophes of the whole.

36. Long I struggled ;
All bowed I sate,
Deeply I longed to live ;
But he ordained,
He, the more powerful,
That the dying man should go forth.
37. The chains of Hela
Wound themselves tightly
Around my sides ;
I would have thrown them off,
But they were strong ;
I could not escape.
39. I saw the sun bless
The true day star,
Down by the rolling sea ;
I heard the harsh grating
Of Hell's portals
On the other side.
40. I saw the sun surrounded
With blood-red streaks ;
(It was hard to leave the world)
It seemed then to me

Far more mighty
Than ever before.

41. I looked on the sun ;
And it seemed then to me
That I looked on the face of God.
Before this I bowed down,
For the last time,
In the world of men.
45. I saw not again the Sun
After that dark day ;
Mountain torrents closed
Over my head ;
Thence I journeyed, called from my pains.
47. Oh how long and dreary
Was that one night
That I lay stiff on straw ;
Then is truly felt
The word of God,
That Man is dust.
49. Each one receives
The reward he merits ;
Happy he who doth good.
To me for my riches
Was then given
A bed strewn with sand.

The poet then proceeds to detail his journey through the vast spaces that lie beyond the earth, in a strain that vies with the noble description of Milton, or the still more wondrous poem of Dante. Passing through the seven spheres he arrives at the " Qvalverden," or purgatory of souls.

53. And now will I tell
Of what first I saw
When I had come to Purgatory.
Scorched birds,
They were souls,
Flew around like gnats.
57. The winds were still,
The waters hushed ;
Then I heard a fearful cry,
For their husbands,
Evil Wives ;
Ground earth for food.

58. Blood sprinkled stones
These dark women
Bore along with pain ;
Bloody hearts
Hung from their bosoms,
Weary with grief.
60. Many men I saw,
Passed unto dust
Without hope of grace ;
Pagan stars
Stood over their heads
With flaming streamers.
61. Men I saw too
Who much envy
Had nourished o'er others' good ;
Bloody Runes
Were on their breasts,
Painfully scored.

The poet continues throughout several more stanzas to depict the sufferings of the other world, till at length the scene changes, and we are introduced to the joys of heaven.

69. There I saw men,
Who, after God's law,
Had given much alms ;
Pure bright torches
Burnt o'er their heads,
Brightly shining.
71. There I saw men
Whose bodies were
By fasting emaciated ;
All God's angels
Bowed down before them ;
This is the highest joy.

In this noble poem the poet inculcates the advantages of fasting, the reward of chastity, and the sure punishment of the vices opposed to this virtue. He even advises prayer to the saints.

25. To the saints of God's word
Take heed to pray ;
That all the week after
They may support thee.

The old Northern poem was anterior to Dante's vision, it anticipated the Purgatory of St. Patrick, the vision of

the knight Sir Tyndal, and that of the Italian monk Albericus, so famous in the middle ages ; but it has hitherto been neglected and forgotten. We know of few compositions so powerful, and so amply bearing the stamp of true and Christian poetry. The tradition recorded of this song in Iceland, would give it almost an inspired character, for it is said to have been sung by Sæmund himself, while his body lay on the bier, previous to his interment. It ends with a truly Catholic prayer, "God to the dead, give rest, comfort the living." Sæmund must, therefore, in his creed, have adopted all that Protestants now ridicule and despise ; yet it is to this humble Catholic priest, in a distant parish of an island far removed from the rest of Europe, that we are indebted for all that remains of the mythology of the North. Sæmund's Edda seems to have been copied again and again by the monks of Iceland, for Iceland had many holy retreats from the world, which survived till the Reformation. It was then that their manuscripts were dissipated and destroyed. Mr. Howitt himself tells us, p. 211, that "the Reformation in 1550 had led to the dissolution of all the convents in Iceland, and consequently to an immense loss of ancient manuscript."

The second part of the Elder Edda contains the originals of the "Niebelungen Lied," that famous epic poem, of which the Germans are so justly proud, but which undoubtedly is not of Teutonic origin.

"The Prose Edda, or Younger Edda, observes Mr. Howitt, can bear no comparison as to its literary or philosophical value, with the Elder Edda. It takes up the same topics, as if, in about a century and a half, the Elder Edda itself were forgotten ; or as if the taste of the public had become more prosaic. The Prose Edda may be regarded as a Commentary on the poetic one, or as representing the matter of the old Edda done into prose, and mixed, as Rask justly observes, with many extravagances, according to the taste of the age."—p. 121.

From these records of heathenism in the North, we turn to more Christian themes. Now commenced the era of the Sagas, many of which, indeed, had been composed, and perhaps also were written in heathen times, but when elaborated by the early Christians, these were often considerably modified, and much of their Pagan mythology was perhaps eliminated.

"The Sagas comprehend almost every species of narrative in

prose. Legend, chronicle, history, and romance, all come under the general head of Saga. In fact, the literature of Iceland, and of ancient Scandinavia, consisted of poetry and prose, with very few exceptions (such as the cosmogonic and ethic books of the Edda, the Grágás or Laws, and the Konungs Skuggsia, or Mirror of Kings,) devoted to the recital of past times. These recitals were inevitably, from their oral delivery and perpetuation, mingled with much fictitious and romantic matter. As we approach the period when writing was introduced, the quantity of sober and authentic history in the Sagas is proportionably augmented. As we have seen, Snorri's Chronicle of the Kings of Norway, the Heims Kringla, is a Saga, and it includes every species of Saga composition. Its earlier part, necessarily derived from the tradition of Scald and Sagaman, is a condensation of their marvellous accounts of the ancient gods and heroes of their race; as it advances we have fable and fact, curiously but more sparingly mingled; these annals of what came within the reach of observation or of his own knowledge, terminating in history apparently as authentic as any other.

"In the ancient Sagas it is difficult, and often quite impossible, to say where fable ends and where fact begins, or how much of one is amalgamated with the other. This can only be done by a careful comparison of the number of the works drawn from different sources, and of those also with the contemporary history of the nations, and this is the work of the historian, not ours, which is merely to state what these Sagas are. In amount, the Saga literature of ancient Scandinavia is surprisingly extensive; it consists of above two hundred volumes. The lists of these to be found in the series 'Dynastarum et Regum Daniæ' of Torfæus, in 'Müller's Saga Bibliothek,' and in 'Biörn Haldorson,' show that these productions are almost innumerable."—p. 171.

"Almost every leading family of Iceland had its written Saga. The Sagamen, like the Scalds, travelled over all the Scandinavian countries, visited all their courts, and therefore treasured up and transmitted to posterity, the whole history of the north. We have, therefore, the ancient Mythic Sagas; we have the Volsunga Saga and Norna Gests Saga, giving the same history of the Nibelungen tragedy, as the Edda; then the Wilkina Saga, giving the German version of it. We have also the Fundin Norogur, a Saga of the Fornjotr, or ancient giant dynasty of Norway.

"After these come the Heroic Sagas, as the Ynglinga, Frithiofs, Halfs, Hrolf Krake's, Bodvar Bjarkis, and Ragnar Lodbroks Sagas. Of historical Sagas, and portions of them, there are said to be more than a hundred. Of the Sagas relating especially to Iceland, Greenland, and Vineland (America) there are nearly forty. The most important of the purely Icelandic ones are—the Sturlunga, Eyrbiggia, Nials, Egils, Kormaks, Laxdæla, and Kristni Sagas. Besides these, as may be seen by the lists given, there are numbers of romantic Sagas. Nor were the people of Iceland contented with

their own native produce, but they began, after the introduction of writing, to translate from the literature of other nations to such a degree, that Müller, in his introduction to his *Saga Bibliothek*, enumerates one hundred and nineteen such translations from almost every language of Europe, including even the learned languages."—p. 175.)

Of a surety the Sagamen and monks of Iceland were no idlers in their work, to produce such an amount of literature in times usually denominated as the dark ages.

A few pages comprize all that our author has to say upon the modern literature of Iceland. The Reformation seems to have arrested all literary spirit, and this remote island is at the present day, peculiarly poor in original talent. The poems and essays that have been published are not of a character to make us wish for more. The present poets of Iceland have become slavish translators from English and German originals, though the ancient tongue is there retained in almost perfect purity. Numerous societies have, however, been formed within the last seventy years in Copenhagen, chiefly by the native Icelanders, domiciled or studying in that capital, for the purpose of publishing the ancient Sagas, or of ameliorating the present condition of the island, and of its inhabitants.

In 1760, the society called singularly enough, "*The Invisible*," was established in Iceland itself, and to this association we are indebted for the *Kongs Skugg Sio*, or *Speculum Regale*, which was noticed in a former number of this Review. In 1779 another society was formed by Icelanders in Copenhagen, viz., *The Icelandic Literary Society*; but the name was not a happy one, it should rather have been the *Iceland Œconomic Society*, as the essays it published chiefly related to the fishing, agriculture, and social œconomy of the island. In 1786 *The Icelandic Institution for Knowledge and Instruction* was formed upon the ruins of another; and in 1818, the *Icelandic Literary Society* was established under the management of Rask and of Finn Magnussen. This society still exists, with two others of great importance to our subject, viz., the *Arne Magnussen Commission*, founded a hundred years ago by Arne Magnussen, "the most learned man that *never* wrote," and the *Northern Society of Ancient Literature*, which has devoted itself chiefly to the publishing of the *Ancient Historical Sagas*.

We pass over the next hundred pages or so, of Mr.

Howitt's work, as these are devoted to the "*Folk-Visor*," or ballad literature of the North of Europe, and this curious and extensive subject we purpose to examine at another time, in conjunction with Mr. Thorpe's two last volumes. Omitting these, then, for the present, we proceed to the modern literature of Denmark. It cannot be denied that the reign of Danish literature dates from no early period, but short as it has been, it has given abundant proofs of vigour and originality. In the vernacular tongue, before the Reformation, little, indeed, seems to have been written; but about the close of the 15th or commencement of 16th century, some religious poems in honour of the Blessed Virgin, were composed by Mikkels, a priest of Odensee, which may fairly rank as poems of high merit. These poems, which are now lying before us, are remarkable, not only for the deep spirit of piety they express, but for the elegance and vigour of the versification. Although, in many points, they resemble the German verses of Hans Sachs, we agree with Molbech, when he says that the German poet must yield the palm to his contemporary of Denmark. Mr. Howitt acknowledges "that they are full of talent and full of a Catholic Spirit, and, for the time, are models of style, and by far the most distinguished productions of the period."

In 1591, Anders Sörensen Wedel published the first edition of the "*Køempe-Viser*," or romantic ballads of Denmark, and he, therefore, anticipated by nearly two hundred years, the good offices that Bishop Percy performed for this country. In the 17th century, while Olaus Wormius and Bartholinus laboured at natural history and the medical sciences, Arreboe and Kingo composed their religious poems and hymns. From the specimen given by Mr. Howitt, we prefer Kingo's hymns to any that have appeared in the Protestant Church, but we confess not to have seen them in the original. The Ancient Sagas were, about the middle of this century, first brought from Iceland to Denmark, and excited considerable attention.

At the commencement of the 18th century there appeared a bright ornament to the polite literature of the North, in the person of Ludvig von Holberg, a Norwegian by birth, a most voluminous writer, and a complete master of the Danish tongue. As a writer of comedy Holberg is unsurpassed in his pictures of every-day life, which are drawn chiefly from the lower ranks or the middle classes of

society. His female characters are somewhat deficient; his caricature is coarse, but not absolutely repulsive: indeed, in this respect, it is far less offensive to delicacy than the majority of the comedies of his period. Holberg's comedies are still acted in Denmark with undiminished success, for they ridicule the little follies and vanities of mankind, which, under somewhat different forms, shew themselves in every age and in every land. Holberg was a true patriot, and cordially detested foreign importations of manners which sate but awkwardly on his countrymen; he lashed these unmercifully in his comedies, and, of course drew upon himself the hostility of many in Copenhagen. The dull pedantry of the early part of the 18th century in Denmark, and which existed also in England, was unbearable to him, and by his caricatures of the classic pedants of the day, he exposed himself to still further persecutions.

"In his comedy of '*Jacob of Tyboe*,'" says Mr. Howitt, "there was an arrant pedant called the curate Tychonius. When the play had been running with great applause for two years, a clergyman of the actual name of Tychonius turned up. He had come from Biborg to Copenhagen on business, and immediately seized on the idea that it was himself and no other who was thus made the laughing-stock of all the public. Full of fire and flame, he applied at once to the President of the Council, who was a fellow-citizen of his, to have the character suppressed as a gross personal libel. In vain did the minister assure him that it was impossible, as Holberg certainly had never known him. In the very moment of this discourse Holberg entered the President's office, and the President said, 'There is the man himself, talk with him.' The incensed priest at once fell on Holberg in the most violent and insulting manner, and Holberg, having without a single word of interruption, listened to the end, then said drily, 'I never knew till this moment that there was an actual living Tychonius,' and so went away."—p. 363.

Of all Holberg's works none continue to give us such genuine pleasure as his inimitable *Peder Paars*, which is still, and which we fear must remain, unknown to the English reader. It is a mock heroic poem, on the plan of the *Odyssey*, detailing the adventures of a homely grocer of Kallundborg on a voyage that he undertakes to visit his lady love. *Paars* is shipwrecked on the island of Anholt, and the scenes through which the hero passes there and elsewhere, are detailed with admirable conceit. Mr. Howitt gives us but one short quotation from this

famous poem, and succeeds pretty well in conveying the spirit of the original. It would have served admirably for a motto to an address in favour of Bloomerism, if that temporary delusion had not already died a natural death.

“How much more sense was shown in days of yore,
When short and jaunty skirts the ladies wore;
But now they sweep the foulest pathways, just
To gather filth, or poison us with dust.
Then men too, then, you saw discreetly go
In pantaloons that almost reached the toe;
The knees—aye, and the legs too, then they clad;
A pious look your fathers’ garments had.
Ay, cut your skirts, and make your trousers long;
So did your ancestors; and did they wrong?”

Niels Klim’s subterranean journey is well known to the English reader; it was originally written in Latin, but a most masterly Danish translation was made by Baggesen. Holberg’s History of Denmark will ever be valued for the graphic power of its delineations.

The death of Holberg occasioned a vacancy in the strictly poetic and literary world of Denmark, which was not destined to be filled for nearly half a century. While Langebek, and Suhm, and Mollmann, were labouring at their avocations as historians and archæologists, the deadening influence of Gallicism was oppressing the genius of the Danish literati. The Mythology of the North, that ample field for poetic subjects, was indeed studied and illustrated by some learned antiquaries, but so complete at this time was the triumph of classical studies, that the Greek Gods, with their attendant fauns and nymphs, entirely drove the Valkyrior and the Frost giants from the Scandinavian Parnassus. One man alone, weak in body, and sunk in bitter poverty, but of strong and vigorous mind, dared to oppose the prevailing taste, and to claim for the Northern Mythology some share in those honours which Denmark reserved for those alone who modelled their works on the insipid rules imported from France. This man was Joannes Evald, whose poems are yet read and admired in Denmark, where the cramped and trimmed rhymes of the fastidious Gallican school are forgotten. After publishing his Hrolf Krage, the first original tragedy in Denmark, but which was indifferently appreciated by

his countrymen, Evald, in 1773, astonished the poetic and literary world by his magnificent drama of Balder's death.

"In 'Balder's Death' the poet shows a striking advance in the artistic elaboration of his material. It is a masterpiece of beauty, of sentiment, and eloquence of diction. It is full of the passion of an unhappy love, and thus in reality expresses the sad and burning feelings of the poet's own heart. Here lies its strength, and the root of its witchery.—p. 401.

"In 'Rolf Krage' and 'Balder's Death,' Evald had, as we have observed, opened up to future poets the affluent mine of national poetry; but he himself was not destined to pursue the lode. It was not till five years after its publication, that Balder's Death could obtain representation, when it produced the most startling effect, but then its author was near his end. Rolf Krage was never acted.

"But after all, the lyrical drama of 'The Fishermen' is, perhaps, the most perfect and the most powerful of all Evald's compositions. In this he takes his subject from common life—a life belonging to Denmark as to England, the life of the coast, of sailors and the sea. The opera is founded on a simple incident, the wreck of a Scottish ship, in 1775, on the coast of Nüheden near the fishing hamlet of Hornbæk. The incidents were much as Evald relates them, one man only was saved, and that by five fishermen at the utmost risk of their lives. The brave men refused to receive from the rescued stranger the recompense which he offered, declaring that they had only done their duty, but a Danish gentleman who heard of it, settled a pension on them.

"Simple as is the material of Evald's drama, it is found capable of exciting the deepest interest. Evald was accustomed to wander amongst the peasantry and fishermen in his summer sojourns on the coast; to enter their houses, and converse with them. He was well acquainted with their character, their manners, and modes of thinking, he has not, therefore, made his actors perfect. One of the young fishermen's sweethearts is selfish enough to endeavour to keep back her lover from his noble enterprise to save human lives; the other is at first more concerned for the loss of their fishing net, than for the danger of the shipwrecked men. Their miserable poverty is forcibly delineated, and the sordid cares of such crushing indigence are depicted as they exist; but as the action proceeds, as the danger increases, and the interest on behalf of the unhappy people naturally heightens, all that is weak and selfish in their hearts gives way, and the noble sympathies which lie at the bottom of every human soul rise up, and stand forth in their proper and divine amplitude. These weak and calculating girls themselves desire to go and face death for the perishing strangers." —p. 406.

Poor Evald was the Burns of Denmark, neglected during

his life, and worshipped when his miseries were at an end, and when his appalling poverty pinched him no longer. It was in this piece of the Fishermen that, in a happy moment he struck off his masterly lyric of "King Christian stood by the lofty mast," which has become the national song of Denmark.

From Evald's death, in 1781 to 1816, the Gallican school of mannerists, under the championship of Baggesen, reigned with almost undisputed sway. A few noble exceptions, indeed, there were, but they obtained at the time little notice from their countrymen. Samsoe at this period wrote his beautiful tragedy of Dyveke, and Edward Storm the fine ballad on the death of Sinclair, and which has more than once been translated into English. Pram, the Southey of Denmark, published the drama of Starkodder, a rather dull poem on so fine a subject. During the time of Evald, a society called, curiously enough, "The Norwegian Literary Society," introduced into the north that sort of literary club life which, during the past century was fashionable in England. This association was composed chiefly of Evald's bitterest foes, who aspired to form themselves solely upon classical models, and shuddered at the bare idea of original or national poetry.

The eighteenth century closes with Rahbek and Baggesen, the former shines as a theatrical critic; the latter was undoubtedly an able man, and the last doughty champion of the Gallican school. We agree with Mr. Howitt that Baggesen's genius was completely hampered by the mannerisms of the school that he defended; but his autobiography, in the style of Goethe, is most charming, and redeems in our eyes many of his errors.

But the period was now fast advancing when a really great poet should arise in Denmark, one who sought his sources of inspiration, not in dry classicalities, and among the Gods of Greece and Rome, but from the Parnassus of the north, amid the mountains and torrents and waving pine woods of Scandinavia.

"We now come to Øhlenschläger, the greatest poet of Denmark and perhaps of the North. The only writer who can be brought into comparison with him is Tegner the Swedish poet. Both are genuine poets of a high order, and of a kindred genius; but while Tegner perhaps excels Øhlenschläger in tenderness and delicacy of feeling, Øhlenschläger certainly transcends Tegner in vigour, and in the wide and varied field in which he has exerted it. Fri-

thiefs Saga stands as the only great poem of Tegner, without that he would be reduced to the simple rank of a lyrical poet, and would stand as the author of many short compositions, which might find many parallels in merit. But *Øhlenschläger* is the author of a host of works, epic, dramatic, and lyrical, which altogether place him on an elevation for masculine strength, richness of topic, prolific invention, and genial confidence of execution which no other Northern writer comes near. In Tegner we are charmed with his exquisite sensibility and almost feminine softness and fullness of heart, with a purity of thought and feeling equally feminine, and with a fancy roseate, and delicious as the early sky of a summer morning. Occasionally he puts forth a power which surprises us, because it is so little seen in general, that we forget that it exists. But in *Øhlenschläger* the sense of manly vigour is not occasional, it is permanent. It is one of the qualities which stands forth as pre-eminent and characteristic. It is so constant and prevailing an element, that we should not recognize *Øhlenschläger* without it. In delicacy of feeling he is far inferior to Tegner, and he is by no means so uniformly correct in his taste. He often offends our sense of purity by descriptions that are voluptuous, not to say sensual; and not unfrequently as much offends our sense of ideal propriety by a machinery of the wildest and most extravagant kind. But his horizon is so extensive, his creations are so numerous, and so nobly developed; there is so much human life and action, based on the strongest sense, and on the most healthy passion, that we can pass over the dark nooks, and the occasionally repulsive scenes of his magnificent dominions, and forgetting them, as we forget such things in nature, revel in the amplitude of his atmosphere, and the wild beauty of his scenery and his characters."

"*Øhlenschläger* stands like a young giant at the opening of the nineteenth century, as its representative in the North,—as the representative of the ampler, the more genial and natural spirit of the time. With Scott and Byron in England, Goethe and Schiller in Germany, he is the growth of a great era, in which the soul of mighty events looks forth in new and divine forms, and casts down all dead shapes, and the hollow surface work of imitations. Instead of being called the Romantic school, in opposition to the classical, it should be called the universal school in opposition to the confined and servilely copying school."—p. 80, vol. ii.

"As Scott saw all the history, tradition, and characteristic manners of his country, lying untouched before him, so *Øhlenschläger* saw all the history and mythology of the North lying equally unappropriated at his feet. Evald and Pram had entered the field, but had not explored it. The discovery of the affluence, physical or intellectual, which is to become the aliment of a new era always awaits—the hour—and the man."—p. 83, vol. ii.

Mr. Howitt's opinion here recorded of the great master spirit of northern poetry, is, in the main, correct, but we doubt whether the author invariably shows that strength and vigour which is here ascribed to him as his constant characteristic. Indeed, in many of his works, and not always in those of his declining years, the poetic fire burns at times but feebly, and he is often extremely deficient in the expression of the tenderer feelings. His northern poems, such as his *Gods of the North*, *Hakon Jarl*, *Palnatoke*, &c. &c., are decidedly the best that he has written, always excepting his inimitable dramas of *Aladdin* and *Corregio*. In his earlier years, till the commencement of the present century, Æhlenschläger had not emancipated himself from the trammels of the classical and copying school. Like many of the geniuses of Denmark, he had in early life, attempted the stage, but his talents did not lie that way, and subsequently by the advice of the brothers Ærsted, he commenced the study of the law, for which he was even less fitted than for the boards of the theatre. The works of Schiller and of Goethe, with the romances of Tieck and the genial writings of Novalis, formed his daily study, and he now turned his attention to the mythology of the north. In the year 1800 he wrote for a prize offered by the University, the subject being "Whether it would be to the advantage of Northern Literature, if the Scandinavian Mythology were introduced and universally used instead of the Grecian?" Of course he was an advocate for the Scandinavian, and he now also studied Icelandic, and read in that tongue many of the Sagas. Besides a very pleasing autobiography, he now began to publish his greater poems, the fruits of his extensive reading in Northern Mythology. One of his most pleasing prose works, though it contains in itself the very essence of poetry, in his Danish version of the old Saga of Volundr, which is well worthy of translation into English. Mr. Howitt tells us that Æhlenschläger's *Corregio* is not an acting drama, but in this we can hardly agree with him. We have seen it reproduced in German at the Burg theatre, in Vienna, and certainly with success; it is, in fact, we think, one of the most acting dramas that Æhlenschläger ever wrote.

"Æhlenschläger's great and serious dramas are after all his master-pieces. These are, however, only a small portion of his

numerous works, His prose stories and romances fill some volumes, and his smaller poems would of themselves have established almost a greater reputation than that of any Danish poet who went before him. As a lyrical poet, he is not so successful as a dramatic and heroic one; but even in that department there are numerous compositions that are radiant with beauty and true feeling. In a word we may cordially subscribe to the declaration of one of his own countrymen, that *Ghlenschläger* belongs to the heroes who cast a glory over the land which has given them birth. The influence which he has already exerted, and which he will continue to exert over the younger generation of poets, and even the whole Danish nation, is incalculable; for although his works belong to the world at large, yet for us Danes he has a peculiar value, as the man who, in Hans Christian *Ersted's* impressive words has called Valhalla from the darkness of time, and wedded the fire of the south to the strength of the north."—p. 151, vol. ii.

Another of the great names in Danish literature is that of Grundtvig, a most able archæologist, deeply learned in the old northern tongues, and now one of the most popular preachers in Denmark. Grundtvig belongs to the Evangelical school, as it would be called in England, his ire seems chiefly to be excited against the rationalism and indifference to religion that prevails in Denmark. We have not space for anything more than Mr. Howitt's brief resumé of the character of this remarkable man.

"It is only by collecting into one view the great and varied labours of Grundtvig, what he has written and what he has done; his masterly writings on the ancient Scandinavian Mythology and hero-life; his equally masterly and extensive translations from the Latin, the Icelandic, and the Anglo-Saxon; his sermons and speeches of the most fervent eloquence; and the voluminous mass of his miscellaneous productions—poetic, historic, antiquarian, and polemic, that we arrive at a true idea of the intellectual proportions of one of the most colossal original minds of the north."—vol. ii., p. 167.

Ingemann, the present rector of the academy of *Sörø*, is undoubtedly the Walter Scott of Denmark, and his historic novels of "*Waldemar Seier*," or *Waldemar*, the victorious, and of *Erik Menved's* Childhood, will be read in Denmark with the same delight for centuries to come, as the novels of the author of "*Waverley*" will preserve their popularity wherever the English tongue is known. The narrative of Ingemann is vigorous and clear, the tenderer scenes of his historical romances are skilfully drawn, but

Mr. Howitt blames him, we think, without sufficient cause, for crowding events too closely, and for a tendency to ultra-romance in some of his characters. In the whole extent of Sir Walter Scott's writings, there is no one scene which surpasses the opening scene of Ingemann's "*Waldemar Seier*," where the venerable Saxo Grammaticus dictates the last lines of his annals of the realm, in the midst of his monastic cell, surrounded by the relics of antiquity. Some of Ingemann's best novels, have already been translated into English, but the versions were made and published before the very existence of Danish literature was known on this side of the German ocean. Mr. Howitt speaks highly of Ingemann's talents as a poet, especially of his *Holger Danske*, which we have not seen, and the rector of the academy of Sorø may safely repose on the laurels he has won by writing the best historical romances in the Danish language. We will conclude our notice of the literature of Denmark by another extract from Mr. Howitt, who has evidently here given up in despair the task of compressing into his two volumes an account of all the great names in Danish science and literature that have appeared within the last fifty years.

"In philology and literary antiquities, no nation boasts of greater names than Rask, Grundtvig, Molbech, Finn Magnussen, and Worsaae. Of Grundtvig we have already spoken. Rask was one of the greatest philologists that ever lived. A fair account of him and of his labours in tracing the origin and principles of languages, and in dragging from the dust of antiquity the buried knowledge of past ages, would form a large volume of itself. He made a journey with Professor Nyerup, at the royal cost to Sweden and Norway, to study Swedish, Finnish, and Lappish. He took a voyage to Iceland, to make new researches after its ancient manuscripts, and study its language, travelling during nearly two years over the greater part of that singular island. Some years afterwards he set out on a far greater journey—that is, through Russia, Georgia, and into the regions of the Caucasus, to trace out, if possible, the original soil and language of the ancient Gothic tribes. He continued his journey to Tartary, India, and Ceylon, studying everywhere with amazing industry the languages: amongst others, Russian, Persian, Sanscrit, Zendest, Pehloist, Hindostaneé, Tamul, Pali, Zingalese, and collecting heaps of manuscripts, and copying inscriptions. This journey consumed five years. His invaluable collections belong now to the library of the University, and to the royal library. He translated Snorre's Edda, and with Afzelius, that of Sæmund. Besides these he has left grammars and treatises

on almost all existing languages; on Icelandic, Latin, Danish, Lexicon, Anglo-Saxon, Zingalese, Frisian, Italian, Danish, and English grammars, with reading-books, also Hebrew and Egyptian Chronologies. He left numbers of treatises on these subjects; he assisted Grundtvig in translating Biowulf's Drapa, from the Anglo-Saxon, and published Locman's Fables."—Vol. ii, p. 237.

The literary activity of Rask was, indeed, surprising, but many of his fellow labourers in the same field have been not less prolific with their pen. Indeed, when we review the short period during which a truly national literature has prevailed in Denmark, we are astonished not only at the extent, but at the intrinsic value of the works that have issued from this little island of Zealand, and with its third rate capital, Copenhagen. But a literary life in Denmark is not, as in this gold-worshipping and trading country, the almost sure road to penury and distress. The encouragement held out by the Government to young men of genius, has tended, no doubt, to develope in numerous instances the latent talent of the Danes, while the travelling subsidies, to enable those distinguished by their genius to visit other lands, though small in amount, are yet amply sufficient for people of such simple tastes and frugal habits. In England, literary talent must generally struggle on through a host of obstacles, and too often it is nipped and strangled in the bud, in Denmark the fostering hand of the Government is readily extended, and genius, wherever and in whatever way it shows itself, finds ready assistance and generous aid. A comparison of the rewards and encouragement held out by the mighty English empire to literary men, with those bestowed by the little kingdom of Denmark, would not, we think, redound to the national credit.

From the literature of Denmark let us next pass to that of the kingdom of Sweden. Here our task, as Mr. Howitt observes, is comparatively brief. Sweden has produced a much smaller average of literary talent than Denmark. There is no great Swedish poet like Æhlenschläger, her writers on History and Archæology, were till very recently, comparatively few; her best novels and romances are the production of the last ten or fifteen years. The Swedish literary annalists, as Mr. Howitt tells us, divide the history of their literature into four grand periods. First, the Romantic (*i.e.* the Sagas and Ballads which are common to this country and to Denmark); second the Germanico-Italian, or Stjernhjelm period of the 17th century; thirdly,

the Gallic period; and fourth, the New School, commencing with 1809."

"But there is another cause," says Mr. Howitt, "which will much shorten our labour in reviewing the Swedish literature, and that is, that it is especially and distinctly lyrical. The genius of Sweden is confessedly neither epic, dramatic, nor historic, but essentially lyrical, and that only in one department; but pre-eminent in that—a lyrical realism.—p. 243.

After a quotation from Lenström, a Swedish author, and from the Baron von Beskow, to the effect that the chief cause of the literary poverty of Sweden is the conventionalism and etiquette that reigns there in Society; Mr. Howitt continues:—

"In this quotation Lenström has hit the true secret, and might have spared all the rest of his reasonings. We are persuaded that the one-sided character of Swedish literature, neither originates in natural scenery, climate, nor in native capacity, for any description of intellectual productiveness, but in the fact, that the old restraints of French taste and of French etiquette, notwithstanding the effects of the new school, have not yet been sufficiently cast off. The Swedes have prided themselves on being the French of the North, a fatal pride as it regards literary independence and originality; and one cannot avoid being struck with the wonderful contrast of the free and easy, and so to say very English bearing in actual life of the Dane, with the profound bows and stately demeanour of the Swede. The recent and rapid advance of Swedish literature in other provinces than the lyrical, demonstrates that a greater intellectual liberty, and a greater consequent literary renown await them."—p. 248)

We pass over the literary productions of the Stjernhjelm or second, and of the Gallo Gustavian, or third era, for in neither of these do we meet with anything like originality of composition, or even beauty of sentiment.

Mr. Howitt devotes several pages to Carl Michael Bellman, a Bacchanalian poet, whose merits we confess we are no more able to appreciate than Mr. Howitt himself. The Swedes adore Bellman; his pictures are drawn from the taverns and spirit shops of Stockholm, they are coarse, and abounding in local allusions; and this, perhaps, renders them less acceptable to the stranger. Still Bellman undoubtedly was possessed of considerable talent, as may be seen in Mr. Howitt's version of his "Up Amaryllis"—p. 299; but he was not free from the trammels of the Gallican school.

Authoresses seem to be popular in Sweden, but only a few, we believe, have adventured into the realms of poesy. Madam Lengren, about the close of the last century, wrote some charming little poems; and her pictures of domestic life are in verse, what the more finished pen of Miss Bremer has produced in prose. In 1809, along with the political revolutions in Sweden, a change took place in the literary tone, which introduced the Gothic school, as it is termed in Sweden, and of which Geijer, Tegner, Arfvidsson, and others were the leaders. This, indeed, is a remarkable era, when the long dormant sensibilities of Swedish genius burst forth into life, and asserted the rights of a national Mythology, and of a national poetry, against the predominating Gallican school. Previous to this epoch, however, there had been signs of impending change, for the old Gallican theories of literary excellence, had been vigorously attacked by the school of the "Phosphorists," as they called themselves, headed by Atterbom, Hammarskjöld and Palmblad. In their journal "*The Phosphorus*," a deadly war was carried on against the old formal school, and this continued unabated till the new doctrines triumphed. Geijer and Tegner were not, however, of the Phosphorist school, they on their part maintained in opposition to Atterbom and his supporters, that there was much good in some of the older writers, and that they were not to be cast aside altogether. The Phosphorists, in fact, erred by affecting an ultra-romantic tone, like that of eastern story, and this eventually proved the cause of their failure. The Gothic school of Geijer and Tegner originated in a periodical, "*The Iduna*," in 1811, and which was continued in the same strain till 1824.

"The Gothic school aiming at a national spirit and character, drew its themes from what was not only national, but which embraced in that nationality all the Gothic race, as one great original family, possessing the same ancestry, the same original religion, the same traditions, and even still the same spirit, predilections, and language, however broken into different dialects. In seeking to carry out these views, they refused, however, to adopt the practice of the Phosphorists, that of attacking, and as far as in them lay, destroying all those of a different literary faith. They declined to ally themselves to the Phosphorists, while they conceded their full right to enjoy their own tastes. But they regarded their views as one-sided, and they protested against an indiscriminate crusade against all the authors of the older periods, in many of whom they

recognized distinguished merits and beauties. They regarded the sweeping condemnation passed on Sweden's past poets, as a suicidal onslaught on the honour and mind of Sweden itself. The new school had truth, nature, and the spirit of the nation, and the times with them, and they speedily triumphed, compelling even their assailants to become their most enthusiastic encomiasts."—p. 336.

Geijer, the leader of the new school, is better known by his prose writings than his poetry. His admirable "*Chronicles of Sweden*" have gained for him an imperishable name. Some of his finest poems appeared in the *Iduna*, as "*The Last Scald*," "*The Viking*," "*The Last Champion*," but these are hardly known out of his own country.

With Tegner we are better acquainted. Not less than four or five translations of his wonderful poem, "*Frithiofs Saga*" have been made into English, and we agree with Mr. Howitt that each and all have failed to convey the spirit of the original. Indeed, after carefully comparing Mr. Howitt's own versions of portions of it with the original Swedish, we have no hesitation in stating that he has given both the spirit and the sense of the poet much better than any of the other translators. Of the other poets and prose writers of Sweden at the present day we have not space to speak here, but must refer our readers to Mr. Howitt's volumes. It is evident that Sweden has at length had her native talent fairly aroused; in science she has long held a prominent position, and the freshness and originality of her poets and novelists gives promise of a still better future.

Mr. Howitt's book is necessarily an imperfect one; but on the whole he has very judiciously chosen his subjects for illustration, and, wherever it was possible, he has in his translations adhered strictly to the words of the original. Indeed, throughout the whole we have observed signs of a greater care in selecting his authors, and of a greater diligence of research into their respective merits than has usually been ascribed to Mr. Howitt. He writes with spirit and with sincerity; he is fully alive to the powers and to the beauties of the Northern poetry, both ancient and modern; and with the exception of a few illiberal accusations against the monks of old, without whom his first volume would not have been written, his book is one that is unobjectionable in every respect.

ART. V.—*Der Cardinal Ximenes und die Kirchliche Zustände Spanniens am Ende des 15, und Anfange des 16 Jahrhunderts. Insbesondere ein Beytrag zur Geschichte und Würdigung der Inquisition. [Cardinal Ximenes and the Ecclesiastical State of Spain at the Close of the Fifteenth and the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century; containing special Reference to the History of the Inquisition.]* By Dr. HEFELE, Ordinary Professor of Theology at the University of Tübingen. Tübingen, 1844.

THE reign of Ferdinand and Isabella is the turning-point in the history of Spain. By the union of the crowns of Aragon and Castile, that country is consolidated into one powerful monarchy. The downfall of the Moorish kingdom of Granada, when in a last decisive encounter the Christian and Paynim chivalry have met, crowns with final victory the struggle of eight hundred years, in which the old Christians of Spain had fought for their altars and homes, their church, their laws, their nationality, and their soil. The old free Gothic Constitution is being gradually transformed into the modern Absolutism; yet, while the turbulence of the nobles is repressed, the Cortes still retain their power, and the national liberties have not been overturned.

Under the enlightened patronage of Queen Isabella, sacred and profane learning makes extraordinary progress; schools and colleges multiply in every province; printers are brought from Germany; the most learned philologists are invited from Italy to excite the emulation of native scholars; the nobles and burgesses, as well as clergy of Spain, are seized with a passion for learning; the magnificent University of Alcalá is founded, and thanks to the munificence of Ximenes, the noblest biblical work since the Hexapla of Origen—the Complutensian Polyglott comes to light. It is no wonder Erasmus declared, that in his time Spain yielded to no other country in the love and cultivation of letters.

The rival kingdom of Portugal has now attained to the acmé of her prosperity and power; for the daring spirit of Gama has doubled the Cape of Hope, and thereby poured into her lap the treasures of Indian commerce. Soon after—

wards the penetrative genius and undaunted courage of Columbus reveals a New World, makes its treasures tributary to Spain, and so immeasurably extends her dominions, that the sun of her existence never sets.

Not the least active and prominent part in these glorious events, was taken by the subject of the biography at the head of our article—the illustrious Ximenes. Whether he be considered in the different characters of monk, prelate, or statesman, he is equally entitled to our admiration. As a monk, he is eminent for love of prayer and contemplation, for his humble, mortified spirit, and his consummate prudence in the direction of souls. As a prelate, he is vigilant in the repression of errors, assiduous in the administration of the sacraments, zealous in imparting religious instruction, severe in the maintenance of Church discipline, profuse in his alms to the poor, and munificent in the patronage of learning. As a statesman he is of incorruptible integrity and inflexible purpose, holding with even hand the scales of justice between rich and poor, cautious in the formation of his plans, and prompt in their execution, foiling with equal vigour the machinations of foreign and domestic foes, promoting the happiness and prosperity of his country by the arts of peace, and asserting, when needful, by force of arms, her honour, interests, and dignity. We see exemplified in a most remarkable degree in Ximenes, what history has not unfrequently exhibited in other Churchmen. Men who have acquired a mastery over themselves, easily obtain the ascendant over others. They who can wisely direct the consciences of men, will not unfrequently be well capable of guiding the destinies of the State; and those initiated in the mysteries of the spiritual world, have often a keener and deeper insight into the secrets of this lower sphere of existence.

It is this celebrated personage who occupies so large a space in the history of the Spanish Church and State, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Dr. Hefele has undertaken to depict in his public and private life. From the light which it throws on public events, and on religious and political institutions, the work is more of an historical than a biographical cast. Its author is one of the most distinguished disciples of the illustrious Möhler, and succeeded his master in a theological chair at Tübingen.

The book is remarkable for extent of research, clearness of method, sagacity of observation, and elegance of style.

We have, indeed, seldom met with a biographical work, which conveys in so agreeable a form such various as well as solid information. The public and private life of Ximenes, his conduct as exemplified in the successive stages of his career, whether as Grand-Vicar, Franciscan Monk, Confessor to Queen Elizabetha, Archbishop of Toledo, Prime Minister of Spain, and Inquisitor-General is brought out with admirable skill.

Not only has the author turned to account the labours of the preceding biographers of Ximenes, such as the Spaniards Gomez, Robles, Quintanilla, and the French bishop Fléchier, but he has found rich materials in the letters of Peter Martyr, of Arona, in Upper Italy, a contemporary of Ximenes, and one ever resident at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella. For the public events, in which the subject of his biography was engaged, the author has diligently investigated and compared the general historians of Spain, such as Mariana, Pulgar, and Ferreras, and those of Aragon, such as Zurita and Jerome Brancas, as well as the modern historical writings of Prescott and Irving. The Transactions of the Royal Historical Academy of Madrid have furnished him with their contingent. Llorente and his adversary Carnicero* are his chief authorities in respect to the Inquisition, and from the statements of the former, partial, defective, and exaggerated as they are, even when not totally false and contradictory, Dr. Hefele has deduced inferences directly the reverse of those intended by that writer.

The biographical and historical portions of the present work follow in pleasing alternation; and the notices of the Complutensian Polyglott, and especially of the Inquisition, form instructive and agreeable episodes in the course of the narrative.

The subject of this memoir was born in the year 1436, at Torrelaguna, a small town in the province of Toledo, and was of noble but not wealthy parents. After having made good proficiency in his classical studies, he repaired to the University of Salamanca, where he devoted himself to the study of Philosophy and Divinity, Civil and Canon Law;

* Don Jose Clemente Carnicero, la Inquisicion justamente restablecida, ó Impugnacion de la obra de D. Juan Antonio Llorente: *Anales de la Inquisicion de Espana, y del Manifesto de las Cortes de Cadiz, Madrid, 1816.*

and after an abode of six years, returned home with the title of Bachelor of Law. He then proceeded to Rome, where he passed another six years in the prosecution of his ecclesiastical studies; and was beginning to attract the attention of his superiors, when the death of his father called him back to Spain.

Owing to the pecuniary embarrassments of his family, he had, before quitting Rome, solicited from the Pope the so-called *Literæ Expectativæ*, or a brief conferring on him the first vacant benefice in the diocese of Toledo. These letters expectative, which, designed as they were originally to reward meritorious churchmen, were, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries especially, often carried to the most abusive length, had often been censured and checked by Popes and Councils, and were finally put down by the Council of Trent. The first benefice, in the Toledo diocese, which became vacant after Ximenes' arrival in Spain, was that of Arch-priest of Uzeda. But as the Archbishop of Toledo had already intended this benefice for one of his chaplains, he was extremely indignant at the claim set up by Ximenes; and as the latter persisted in the assertion of his rights, he was thrown into prison. Here he gave an earnest of that stern inflexibility of temper which characterized him through life; and stedfastly resisting alike the threats and the solicitations of the Archbishop underwent for six years the hardships of incarceration. Seeing all his endeavours to shake the constancy of our Ximenes were in vain, the Archbishop released him from prison.

Mistrusting with reason the future good-will of this prelate towards him, the subject of this biography exchanged his Archi-presbyterate for the head chaplaincy in the cathedral of Sigüenza. Here he devoted himself to Biblical studies, and acquired the Hebrew and Chaldee languages. He won the esteem and friendship of several eminent personages, and among others the wealthy Arch-deacon Lopez di Medina Celi, who at his instigation founded the University of Sigüenza. He soon attracted the attention of the enlightened bishop of the diocese, Cardinal Mendoza. The latter honoured him with his entire confidence, bestowed on him several lucrative benefices, and on his own nomination to the archbishopric of Seville, appointed Ximenes Grand-Vicar of the diocese of Sigüenza,

which he was allowed to unite with his new archiepiscopal see.

The many secular duties and occupations interwoven with his new functions, often made the Grand-Vicar of Siguenza sigh for a peaceful retreat of study and devotion. This he thought to find in the cloisters of St. Francis; and accordingly giving up his rich benefices, and commending his brother to the care of his friends, he betook himself to the Franciscan Monastery of San Juan de los Reyes, recently founded by Ferdinand and Isabella.

But his reputation for eminent piety soon drew numbers to the convent who came to consult him on their spiritual concerns. His superiors also fixed their eyes upon him, and often summoned him to Toledo to take his advice in affairs of great importance. In one of these journeys to Toledo, being surprised by nightfall, he and his companion Brother Sanchez, fell asleep on some wheat sheaves. Suddenly the latter awoke and exclaimed, "Father Francis, I have just dreamed you were archbishop of Toledo, and I see a cardinal's hat upon your head." This was the second prophecy to the same purport which had been made to Ximenes, and it was now to be shortly fulfilled.

On the conquest of Granada, and the successful termination of the Moorish war, Queen Isabella appointed her former confessor Fernando de Talavera bishop of Avila, to the newly founded see of Granada. At the urgent recommendation of the Primate, Cardinal Mendoza, the Queen singled out for her new director the humble Franciscan, who had given up ecclesiastical dignities and lucrative preferments to lead a life of study, penance, and religious contemplation. After much difficulty, Ximenes yielded to the solicitations of his sovereign, but on the condition that he should be suffered to remain in his monastery, and summoned to Court in those cases only when the Queen specially desired his spiritual advice. On this occasion the Secretary of State, Ferdinand Alvarez wrote to his friend Peter Martyr as follows:—"A very holy man has arrived here at Court, coming forth from the gloomy solitude of the forest, with a form emaciated by ascetic practices, not unlike the old anchorets, Paul and Hilarion; he has succeeded to the place of the Archbishop of Granada."

Soon after this nomination, Ximenes received a command from his superiors to undertake a journey through the different provinces of Spain, for the purpose of reform-

ing the various houses of his order. It is remarkable that when he arrived at Gibraltar, and got sight of the African coast, he was seized with the same burning desire for preaching the faith to the Moorish population, and perhaps earning the crown of martyrdom, which on a like occasion the illustrious founder of his order once felt. A very pious Tertiary, called in Spain Beata,* one who was reported to have the gift of prophecy, dissuaded him from the prosecution of this design, and bade him abide his glorious destiny in Spain.

In his visitation Ximenes found most of the houses of his order in the hands of the lax Conventuals. The more zealous members of these communities he persuaded to adopt the stricter rule of the Observantines; he expelled the disorderly monks; and those chargeable with no offence, but unwilling to comply with the new regulations, he pensioned off. With the sanction of his religious superiors, and upheld by the secular arm, he was enabled to accomplish a thorough reform in the Franciscan Order.

But the moment had now arrived when Ximenes was to be called to that eminent dignity where he was destined to achieve so much for Church and State, and where his religious zeal and piety, his spotless integrity, his untiring energy, his unbending firmness of character, and his penetrative understanding were to be displayed in the fullest light. The See of Toledo had just become vacant by the death of the Cardinal Mendoza, Primate of Spain. This great man, who for twenty years had ruled his diocese, and guided the destinies of Spain, left behind him a name which was long blessed by the population of that country. On his bed of sickness he gave Ferdinand and Isabella important advice as to the future government of their kingdom; and, among other things, strongly recommended that the future Primate of Spain should be taken, not from the high aristocracy, but from the middle classes.

After some hesitation, Isabella fixed on Ximenes as the successor of Cardinal Mendoza to the Primatial See of Toledo. Without communicating her design to him, she procured from the Pope the Bull of institution; and summoning Ximenes to her palace, put the Papal document

* Those Tertiaries of St. Francis are so called, who, besides the obligations of the third order, observe of their own accord the three monastic vows.

into his hands. When his eye caught the words, "To our Venerable Brother, Francis Ximenes of Cisneros, Archbishop Elect of Toledo," pale and terror-struck, he gave back the document to the Queen, saying "this is not addressed to me;" and left the royal presence abruptly, and without taking leave. The Queen called out to him, with much amiability, "You will, I trust, let me see what the Holy Father has written to you; but as he paid no attention to her words, she was resolved to leave him for a while to his own more sober reflection, and to let the first feelings of pain and surprise evaporate. After the lapse of a few hours, she dispatched three chamberlains after her confessor; but these, on hearing that he had quitted Madrid for a neighbouring Franciscan monastery, started in pursuit of him, and finding him at three leagues distance from the capital, had a difficulty to persuade him to return to the palace.

So inflexible was Ximenes in his refusal to accept the proffered dignity, that the Queen complained of his obstinacy to the Pope; and the latter had to address him a second brief, bidding him under pain of canonical disobedience, to take upon him the charge committed to his care. "Thus," says our author, "did the worst Pontiff (Alexander VI.) force upon one of the worthiest of men the acceptance of Spain's Primatial See."

Nothing could be more austere than the life of the new primate. No costly furniture decorated his apartments; no silver vessels adorned his table. Twelve poor Franciscan monks constituted the sole ministers of his household. This asceticism, indeed, he carried so far, that on complaints being made to the Pope, the latter addressed him an admonition, bidding him live in a style more suitable to his ecclesiastical rank. His outward way of living he totally changed. Beds of silk and purple were now to be seen in his palace, while he himself slept on the hard floor; he was, according to the custom of the age, waited on by pages from the noblest houses; splendid banquets did he now give, yet he still retained his homely fare; and, under garments of dazzling brilliancy concealed his coarse Franciscan habit. Daily did he offer up the holy sacrifice of the Mass; he read every day, on his knees, some chapters of the Bible; loved to say his prayers in some dark, lonely chapel, and often devoutly

looked upon a small crucifix, which he ever carried about with him, and regarded as a preservation against sin.

With his wonted energy, he addressed himself to the correction of all ecclesiastical abuses in his diocese. In the course of the fifteenth century, and especially during the dissolute reign of Henry IV., great disorders had sprung up among clergy and laity. The example of the Saracens had long exerted a pernicious influence on the Christians of Spain, and, among other things, had caused concubinage, even among married men, to be a thing so common as not to excite scandal or disgust. The Moorish wars had drawn off many churchmen into the turmoil of arms; and ignorance, love of lucre, and incontinence disgraced many members of that sacred profession. Even the Episcopate, which, hitherto, had preserved an unspotted reputation, presented some examples of disedification. Hence, in this state of things, it is not very surprising to hear that the Jews, who then possessed much intellectual cultivation, as well as considerable wealth, should have infected not a few of the clergy with their doctrinal errors.

The new Archbishop of Toledo presided over a Diocesan Synod, which confirmed the decrees of that of Aranda, in 1473, against concubinage, profane amusements, martial employments, and neglect of learning on the part of churchmen, and, moreover, enacted many salutary regulations, enjoining on the clergy the religious instruction of the people, and a more vigilant superintendence over their moral conduct.

In the religious orders, and in the Franciscan especially, reformation was much needed. The endeavours of Ximenes to bring about such a reform in his own religious community, we have already had occasion to notice; but now, that he was exalted to the primatial see of Toledo, these efforts were, in despite of a violent opposition on the part of the lax conventuals, crowned with the most brilliant success. The pope, after some repugnance and hesitation, granted to the primate, and two other Spanish bishops, full powers for carrying out the reform of the Franciscan monasteries of Spain. So it came to pass that, with few exceptions, in all these communities, the rigid observance was introduced; and Gomez, the earliest biographer of our archbishop, and who flourished but a few years after him, ascribes all the discipline, continence, and piety of the

Spanish Franciscans of his day to the salutary measures of Ximenes. How arduous was this task of reformation, the reader may infer, when he learns that a large number of the conventuals, rather than amend their morals, abandoned their cloisters, emigrated to Africa, apostatized to Islam, and, in the bosom of that voluptuous creed, gave themselves up to every sensual gratification.* The work of monastic reform, which even when confessor to the queen he had been intrusted with, our primate now prosecuted with additional ardour. The Dominicans, Carmelites, and Augustinians, were those who submitted themselves most willingly to the work of correction.

The secular clergy of his diocess was an especial object of the primate's vigilance. In the distribution of ecclesiastical patronage, he paid no regard to birth or prior position, and nominated to benefices none but the most virtuous and learned ecclesiastics. He appointed visitors and commissioners to correct all abuses that may have crept into the different parishes, and to bring about a change of living among clergy and laity. In a council held by him, it was decreed, among other things, that diocesan synods should be held yearly—a decree that was not permanently enforced till after the council of Trent, and under King Philip II. Armed with full powers from the pope, and sustained by the government, Ximenes made war against all vices; so that his arch-diocess, to use the words of Gomez, underwent a thorough regeneration.

Many were the works of beneficence wrought by the excellent primate of Toledo. Having learned that many young women were led astray from virtue by their poverty, and having also observed in his visitations as provincial, that not a few maidens were induced from indigence, to take the veil, and afterwards felt themselves unhappy in the cloister, he founded at Alcalá a convent dedicated to St. John, and connected with it a house under the patron-

* This fact, called in question by Prescott, but without ground, (Ferdinand and Isabella, vol. ii. p. 116), and whereupon Gomez and Robles are silent, is attested by grave historians like Petrus Delphinus; and, after him, Raynaldus, (in his continuation of the Annals of Baronius, ad annum 1497, n. 34); and by Zurita, (Hist. del Rey Hernando, t. v. lib. iii. c. 15, p. 135); and lastly, by the Spanish Academician, Clemencin, in his *Elogio de la Reina Dona Isabella*, Memorias, t. iv. p. 201.

age of St. Isabella. In this house the young women were to live according to certain fixed rules under the superintendence of a spiritual mother, and the Franciscan guardian of the city; and when they chose to marry, they received a dowry out of the not inconsiderable revenues of the establishment. But if, at a mature age, they wished to embrace the religious life, they were gratuitously admitted into the convent of St. Isabella.

A hospital founded at Toledo for the indigent sick by two men of the middle classes, Jerome Madrit and Peter Zalamea, received countenance and support, as well as munificent donations, from our primate. The establishment, which was soon raised to a formal religious institute for the care of the sick, under dedication to the Immaculate Conception, was bound by its statutes to send out every night, from the first day of November to the last of March, two members of its confraternity with lanterns in their hands, to seek out the houseless poor, and rescue them from the winter's blast. In 1505, a year of scarcity, the primate gave upwards of four thousand bushels of excellent wheat to this charitable institute.

"Moreover," says Dr. Hefele, "Ximenes wrought many other works of beneficence. He visited the hospitals himself, gave marriage portions to indigent young women, fed thirty poor persons daily, ransomed prisoners, founded four hospitals, eight monasteries, and twelve churches."—p. 198.

Having now witnessed the charity, the zeal, and the wisdom evinced by Ximenes in the discharge of his episcopal office, let us turn to contemplate him as the enlightened and munificent patron of learning. In his two-fold capacity as Archbishop of Toledo and Prime Minister of Spain, he was well able to second the generous views of Queen Isabella for the enlightenment of her people.

But while Dr. Hefele does full justice to the noble efforts of Queen Isabella for promoting literary instruction, and the study of the ancient classics in Spain, he overlooks the merits of her grandfather, John II., in the cultivation and patronage of the vernacular literature. "It would not be easy to find in the whole history of states and of literature," says Bouterwek, "a like poetical court of powerful knights encompassing a learned but feeble-minded king, in an age of civil broils." And another recent German historian of

the mediæval literature of Spain—M. Clarus*—says, that among the one hundred and forty poets of the fifteenth century, whose lays are contained in the collection, or *Cancionero General* of Hernando del Castillo, the greater part adorned the court of John II. While these had been preceded by a long and brilliant line of lyric, epic, and dramatic bards in the ages of chivalry, they in turn served to usher in the golden era of Spanish literature in the reigns of Charles V., Philip II., and Philip III. In that noble literature was blended the romantic enthusiasm of elder times with the classic refinement acquired under Isabella.

"Under the government of that queen," says our author, "the newly discovered art of printing was introduced into Spain; and, warmly patronized and munificently remunerated by her, it spread rapidly through the country. Civil advantages, exemption from taxes, and the like, served as a reward, and an encouragement to the most enterprising printers, whether native or foreign. The free importation of books augmented competition, and stimulated zeal; and soon, throughout Spain, poems, classical works, and spiritual books were printed. And even about the year 1478, a Spanish translation of the whole Bible, by a brother of St. Vincent Ferrer, was published at Valencia. Not rarely did Queen Isabella herself pay the cost of printing good works. And still more publications did Ximenes take on his own account, distributing prizes to the most skilful workmen; and protecting the infant art to such a degree, that soon, in all the important cities of Spain, presses were found fully engaged †

"If Isabella brought many of her printers from Germany, her scholars she sought for in Italy, which then far surpassed all other countries in literary glory. Thus, classical scholars, like the two brothers, Antonio and Alessandro Geraldino,‡ came to her court. The learned Peter Martyr,§ who was descended from a family nearly allied to the Borromeos in northern Italy (Arona, by the Lago Maggiore), accompanied from Rome her ambassador, Count

* *Hist. of Spanish Literat. in the Middle Age, in German.* By L. Clarus. Mainz. 1846.

† Fléchier, *Hist. du Card. Ximenes*, liv. vi. p. 505; Amsterdam, 1700. Prescott, *Hist. of Ferdinand and Isabella*, p. 574-6.

‡ The latter became afterwards Bishop of St. Domingo in America.

§ See his 239th and 248th Letter. He is not to be confounded with Peter Martyr Vermilius, the well-known Protestant reformer, and ex-Augustinian monk.

Tendilla in the year 1487, as did Lucio Marineo Siculo, the Admiral Henriquez from Sicily. The queen received these men in the most gracious manner, regarding them as valuable grafts for ennobling the stock of Spanish literature. But with these, native Spaniards, too, were not forgotten, who had gathered abroad rich and rare literary acquirements; and were, on their return, appointed by the queen to public professorships, such, particularly, as Anton da Lebrija (Nebrissa), and Arias Barboso. She particularly employed the services of the two Geraldini in the tuition of her own children, who received a more learned education than was perhaps the lot of any other princes or princesses of Europe in that age. Even Erasmus was astonished at the literary attainments of Isabella's youngest daughter, Catherine, who was married to Henry VIII. of England. And the great Spanish humanist, Vives, who died in 1540, relates with amazement how the unhappy Joanna, the mother of Charles V., was able to deliver extemporaneous Latin speeches.*

"In this revival of literature, the nobility was destined to lead the way, and its better education and refinement was an object of much concern to the queen. As teacher of this class, she fixed upon Peter Martyr, who, soon after his arrival in Spain, exchanged the service of the muses for that of arms, and took part in the Moorish war. But, after the conquest of Granada (1492), when he wished to receive holy orders, the queen invited him, through the Cardinal Mendoza, to her court, and there engaged him to undertake, for the sake of the good cause, as well as for ample remuneration, the instruction of the young nobility in attendance at the palace. Martyr acceded to the proposal, and the queen now established, like Charlemagne before her, a *schola palatina*, or an ambulatory academy, that followed the royal camp. The undertaking was arduous; for the young nobility valued only the arts of war, and regarded the sciences as incompatible with the duties of their order.

"Yet already, in September, 1492, Martyr speaks of his success, and how his house was filled the whole day long with noble youths; and how Isabella herself sent her kinsmen, and those of the king, to him for instruction. Although a canon, and subsequently prior of Granada, he remained at court; and so successful were his exertions, that the young nobles made extraordinary proficiency under him; and, many years afterwards, his former scholars revered him as their father. He himself said, in quaint phrase, that almost the whole nobility of Castile had 'suckled at his literary breasts.'

* Erasmi Epist. Lib. xix. Ep. 31, and Lib. ii. Ep. 24. Vives de Christianâ feminâ, c. 4. Vide Prescott, "Isabella and Ferdinand," p. 560, note 7.

"Together with Martyr, there were other distinguished scholars, like Lucio Marineo Siculo, who was originally professor at Salamanca, and afterwards transferred to the court. These men laboured with such success in the education of the Spanish nobility, that henceforth no Spaniard was regarded as noble who looked with indifference on the sciences. And Erasmus declared that the Spaniards had, in the course of a few years, not only excited the admiration of the most civilized nations of Europe, "but even served them for a model."* Men belonging to the first houses of the once so proud Spanish nobility, felt no scruple to fill professorial chairs in the Universities. Thus, Don Gutiere de Toledo, the son of the Duke of Alba, and cousin to the king, and Don Pedro Fernandez da Velasco, the son of the Count of Haro, taught at Salamanca.†

"High-born dames competed with noble lords for the prize of literary culture, and even several of them mounted the Professorial Chair, and delivered public lectures on eloquence and classical literature.‡

"In consequence of this newly-kindled zeal for learning, old schools were again filled, and new ones erected; but it was especially Salamanca, the Spanish Athens, with her seven thousand students, that shone pre-eminent in this revival. Even Peter Martyr once held lectures here on Juvenal (1488), before so numerous an auditory, that all access to the lecture-room was blocked up, and he was obliged to be carried in on the shoulders of the students.§

"But, with the old celebrated university of Salamanca, the new one of Alcala, now at the commencement of the sixteenth century, entered the lists. This magnificent foundation of Cardinal Ximenes, was called by the Spaniards the *eighth* wonder of the world.||

"When Ximenes was but yet grand chaplain of Siguenza, he evinced such love and esteem for learning, that he not only, by diligent study, supplied the deficiencies in his own education, but induced his wealthy friend, the Archdeacon John Lopez de Medina Celi de Almazan to found the academy of Siguenza.

"Not only the queen, but many prelates and grandees recognized the necessity of a superior education for all classes of the Spanish people, and especially the clergy. Nay, the council of Aranda a year before Isabella came to the throne, found it necessary to enjoin, that no one unacquainted with Latin should receive holy orders.**

* Erasmus, Ep. 977; Prescott, Part I., pp. 571, 566.

† Prescott, Part I., p. 565. ‡ Ibid., Part I., p. 566.

§ Martyr, Ep. 57.

|| Roble's *Compendio de la Vida y Hazanas del Cardinal Ximenes*, p. 127. Toledo, 1604.

** Harduin Collect. Conc. t. ix. p. 1504.

"But, in order to furnish all the provinces of this extensive kingdom with the means of a liberal education, a number of academies was about this time founded, like that of Toledo, by Francis Alvar,* that of Seville by Roderick of St. Aelia, that of Granada by the Archbishop Talavera, that of Ognate by Mercatus, Bishop of Avila, that of Ossuna by Count Giron de Urena, and that of Valencia by Pope Alexander VI."—pp. 102-6.

But all these colleges were far surpassed by the foundation of Ximenes at Alcala, (the ancient Complutum.) The salubrity of its climate, and the beauty of its situation on the banks of the Henares, well adapted it for a seat of the muses; and the primate rightly judged that he could not better promote the interests of religion and learning, than by devoting a portion of the princely revenues of his see to the establishment of a great university.† In the year 1500 he laid the foundation-stone of the College of St. Ildefonso, with great solemnity; and, after a suitable discourse, blessed the site, and offered up public prayers for the success of the undertaking. Three years afterwards came the bulls of confirmation for the new university from Rome.‡

"The principal college of the new university," says our author, "was that of St. Ildefonso, named after the patron of Toledo, whom Ximenes especially honoured; and, on the 26th of July, 1508, was, for the first time, occupied by seven collegiate professors, who were invited from Salamanca. These were Peter Campus, Michael Carrascus, Ferdinand Balbas, Bartholomew Castrus, Peter Sanctæ Crucis, Antonius Rodericus, and John Fontius. But for the future, the college, according to Gomez, was to consist of thirty-three; according to Robles, of twenty-four members only, with the addition of twelve priests; who, without taking any part in the management of the studies, were to attend exclusively to divine service, and the pastoral duties for the members of the university; go through the canonical offices in common; and distribute to the poor the allotted alms, together with the remnants of the table. The collegiates, on

* The Scholasticus of Toledo. Gomez de Rebus Gestis Franc. Ximenii in the first volume of the Hispaniæ Illustratæ Scriptores Franc. of 1603, p. 976.

† The yearly revenue of the Archbishopric of Toledo was then eighty thousand ducats, or nearly forty thousand pounds sterling; a sum which, according to the then value of money, was prodigious.

‡ Gomez, loc. cit, p. 933.

the other hand, all theologians, filled most of the academic chairs ; or, like the English fellows, prepared themselves for the discharge of important offices ; while others among them devoted themselves chiefly to the temporal administration of the university..... Together with the principal college, Ximenes founded a multitude of other establishments adapted for wants of all kinds. For poor students of the classical languages he erected the two halls, or Convictoria, dedicated to St. Isidore and St. Eugenius, in which forty-two young philologers had, for three years, free board and lodging. The general instruction they received from the six professors of philology appointed to the university ; but at home they had special exercises, and particularly, every fourteen days, a disputation. Severe examinations were to decide on advancement to a higher course, and admission to the so-called professional faculties ; and these regulations were attended with such brilliant success, that Alcalá, in the judgment of Erasmus, was in general conspicuous for its able *philologers*.*

"Two other colleges, dedicated to St. Balbina and St. Catherine, were appropriated to students of philosophy, who in the first, had or two years to study logic ; and, in the latter, for the same period to study physics and metaphysics. Each of the two establishments numbered forty-eight pupils, of whom the elder ones had to exercise a superintendence over the younger. The eight professors of philosophy at the university delivered lectures ; but, besides these, there were, every fourteen-days, public disputations here held in the presence of the rector and chancellor of the university ; and the bursars obtained successively the dignity of a bachelor, a licentiate, and a master of arts.†

"Another college, dedicated to the Mother of God, was destined for sick students ; but, as the building turned out smaller than Ximenes had wished, he ordered a more spacious edifice to be erected for that purpose ; and then appropriated the first to eighteen poor theological, and six medical students, whose course of studies was fixed for the period of four years. A sixth college, called the smaller, was dedicated to the holy apostles, SS. Peter and Paul, and was set apart for twelve studious Franciscans ; who, living under their own guardian, and separated from the Franciscan monastery of the city, were to give themselves up entirely to study. From this college, according to the testimony of Wadding, went forth many generals of the Order, provincials, bishops, and learned men.‡

* Academia Complutensis non aliunde celebritatem nominis auspicata est, quam a complectendo linguas ac bonas literas.— Erasmus, Ep. 735.

† Gomez, loc. cit. p. 1014.

‡ Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, t. xv. p. 143. Gomez, loc. cit. p. 1014 15.

"The college of the three languages, dedicated to St. Jerome, was allotted to the use of thirty students; and, of this number, ten bursars were to acquire a thorough knowledge of the Latin language, ten of the Greek, and ten of the Hebrew.*

"Thus, by degrees, arose such a multitude of university buildings at Alcala, that of the pious founder the punsters said, Toledo never possessed a bishop of such *edification* as Ximenes.†

"But, beside the foundations of the Archbishop, sprang up many other establishments, attracted by the glory of the university; as every monastic order in Spain, with the exception of the Benedictines and the Jeromites, founded their own houses in Alcala, in order to procure for the young monks a share in the advantages of this celebrated seat of learning."‡—pp. 110-12.

The students of this university were to be carefully instructed and trained up in religion as well as the profane sciences; they were to read and learn by heart psalms, hymns, and the lives of the saints. On Sundays and holidays, especially, their time was to be directed exclusively to religious instruction and exercises; they were to attend not only at mass, but at the sermon, vespers, and other devotions in the church.

The munificent founder, in his inexhaustible liberality, built three country-houses for the use of the professors, and made noble provisions for their old age.

A few years after Ximenes' death, the University of Alcala was visited by Francis I., King of France, who, after a minute inspection of its several establishments, uttered these remarkable words: "Your Ximenes has here begun and executed a work which I myself would not have ventured to undertake. The Paris University, the pride of my land, is the work of *many* kings; but Ximenes has *alone* founded a like institution." p. 119.

The University of Alcala, after having been for three centuries an ornament to Spain, and furnished Church and State with the most distinguished men, was suppressed in 1807, during the calamitous administration of Godoy.

The edition of the Polyglott Bible is another splendid monument of Ximenes' zeal for learning and religion. To this subject our author devotes a long, learned, and elaborate chapter. In the Middle Age various efforts had been made for the emendation of the text of the Vulgate, not only by the collation of old Latin M.S., but by a compari-

* Robles, l. c. p. 132.

† Fléchier, l. c. p. 504.

‡ Robles, l. c. p. 133.

son with the Hebrew and Greek M.S. Such a labour was undertaken in 1109, by Stephen Harding, abbot of Cîteaux, by the learned Dominican, Hugh of St. Cher in 1236, and later, by the Sorbonne of Paris. Yet, in despite of these critical labours, Cardinal Peter D'Ailly, at the commencement of the fifteenth century, gave vent to bitter complaints as to the sad condition of the Scriptural text.

The discovery of the art of printing, which was first devoted to the multiplication of the sacred writings,* gave, of course, a powerful impulse to Biblical studies. An ardent attachment to these pursuits had ever been a dominant trait in Ximenes' character. At a mature period of life he had prosecuted the study of the Hebrew and Chaldean tongues; and on one occasion he declared he would give up all his knowledge of Civil Law, which in that age constituted an important element in theological education, for the illustration of a single text of Scripture. His elevation to the See of Toledo, furnished him with an ample opportunity for gratifying his liberal taste, as well as of furthering to a remarkable degree, the interests of Religion and Learning. He immediately resolved on starting the publication of a work similar to the lost Hexapla of Origen, selected Alcalá for the place, where it should be brought out, and intrusted the undertaking to some of the most learned Professors of that University. They were Anthony Lebrija, of whom we have already had occasion to speak, Demetrius Dukas, a Cretan, Lopez da Zuniga, and Nunez da Guzman, and his scholar, the Canon Vergara, to whom were associated three converted Jews, the physician Alfonso, of Alcalá, Paul Coronell, of Segovia, who died theologian of Salamanca, and Alfonso da Zamora, who composed the Hebrew Grammar and the Dictionary annexed to the Polyglott.†

Besides various Prefaces and Dissertations, the volumes of this Polyglott containing the Old Testament, are in each page divided into five columns—three in the upper part of

* Besides the many editions of the Scriptures in their original tongues, and of the various vernacular versions, especially the German, there were printed from the year 1462 to 1500, not fewer than *eighty* editions of the *entire* Latin vulgate.

† This formed the second volume of the Polyglott, which is found missing in many copies.

the page, and two in the lower. The three upper columns contain, first, the Hebrew Original, next the Latin Vulgate, and then the Greek Septuagint version. The first column in the lower part has the Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos, and the second a Latin translation of it. There is, besides, a broad margin for the references to parallel passages and the insertion of Hebrew and Chaldee roots. The volumes devoted to the New Testament, besides various prefaces and critical and exegetical disquisitions, contain in the first column the Greek Original, and in the second, the Latin Vulgate. This magnificent work, consisting of six folio volumes, and dedicated to Pope Leo X., was completed in the course of about twelve years, and saw the light in the year 1520.

"Gomez," says our author, "relates that *seven* Hebrew MSS. cost Ximenes not less than four thousand ducats, or near two thousand pounds sterling, and that in the whole undertaking he expended not less than *fifty thousand ducats*, or near *twenty-five thousand pounds sterling*; a sum which, estimated according to the then value of money, could have been expended only by a man who united the wants of a monk to the revenues of a king. The purchase of MSS., the remuneration of those engaged in procuring them—the emoluments of the editors, the copyists, and assistants—the expense of the new letters, which were all to be cast in Alcalá—the bringing over able printers from Germany—the printing itself—all these things together occasioned this enormous outlay of money. But the sale-price was in no sort of proportion to this outlay; for Ximenes had no more than six hundred copies taken off,* and each copy, though consisting of six folios, cost no more than six and a half ducats. But even the produce of the sale was, in his last will, devoted to charitable purposes, as we see from the Papal Bull of confirmation in the first volume of the Polyglott. * * * * *

"The last volume printed, though the fourth in the work, contained the greater and lesser Prophets of the Old Testament, and the two Books of Maccabees. It was in the office of Arnold William da Brocario of Alcalá on the 10th of July 1517, this stupendous work was completed. The young John Brocario, the son of the printer, clad in a festal dress, having brought the last sheet to Cardinal Ximenes, the latter joyfully exclaimed. "I thank Thee, Lord and Christ, that Thou hast happily brought this work to an end." P. 142.

* Hence the rarity of this work. In all Germany there are not more than fifteen copies. See Hänlein's Introduction to the New Testament, Part ii. p. 260.

A few words now as to the honesty of the editors of the Complutensian Polyglott, and the critical value of their labours.

Against the charges of Wetstein and Semler in the last century, that the Complutensian editors altered their Greek text to suit the Vulgate, it was shown by Michaelis, Griesbach, and other distinguished Protestant critics, that that text has many readings different from the Vulgate, not less, indeed, than nine hundred, and that the departure in this edition from the ordinary Greek text has been fully justified by the researches of modern Biblical criticism.*

As to the critical value of the Complutensian Polyglott, it has, of course, all the imperfections of a first essay. All critics, Catholic and Protestant, agree, that the Codices used were not, as the editors imagined, most ancient and most correct, *antiquissimi et emendatissimi*, but of a comparatively recent date. From a process of inductive evidence, which it would be too long to recapitulate here, our author concludes that the age of these MSS. was from the ninth to the thirteenth century.

This splendid monument of religious zeal and learning led the way to similar enterprises. It was successively followed by the Antwerp, Paris, and London Polyglott Bibles, and was thus instrumental in promoting the science of Biblical criticism;—a science which forms no unimportant element of the Christian Evidences, as it serves to vindicate against the cavils of heresy and unbelief the

* For instance, the words following the "Our Father," ("for thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory," "*οτι σου εστιν η βασιλεια*," κ.τ.λ., were rejected by the Complutensians, as an interpolation from the Greek Liturgy. This judgment has been fully ratified by modern criticism.

Then the much-disputed text of the three witnesses (i. John v. 7.) is now proved to have in its favour, besides the weightiest and most ancient Latin authorities, *four Greek MS.*, though none of these are of an ancient date. (See Cardinal Wiseman's learned Tract, entitled "Two Letters on the Controversy, 1 John v. 7, Rome 1835, and Perrone Prælect. t. ii. p. 294. It is probable that one of these MS. was used by the Complutensian editors.

The critical accuracy of the vulgate itself, it should be observed, becomes more and more apparent with the progress of Biblical research. It is based on Greek MS. *two hundred years* older, than the most ancient MS. now extant, which at most date not higher than the end of the third century.

integrity of the Scriptural text, and to prove the special Providence of God, in watching over the oracles He committed to the keeping of His Church.

While the Polyglott Bible was in the press, our Primate brought out the works of the celebrated Spanish Exegetist, Alphonsus Tostatus, Bishop of Avila, who died in the year 1455. He also published at his cost, and for the edification of the unlearned, as well as the learned, a number of small treatises, partly in the Latin, partly in the Castilian tongue, which obtained in Spain a wide and rapid diffusion. These were the letters of St. Catherine of Sienna, the writings of St. Angela of Foligno, and of the blessed Abbess Mechtildes, the Ladder of Perfection by St. John Climacus; the Rule of Life by St. Vincent Ferrer, and St. Clare; Meditations on the Life of Christ, by the Carthusian Landulf, and a biography of our great St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Not unmindful was this great man of the claims of even heathen philosophy. At the close of the middle age, Ximenes designed, by an edition of his works, to raise a noble monument to the Stagirite, who had been so long its philosophic guide, and whom the divine bard,* the best representative of the opinions of that period, calls the master sage,

“Il Maëstro de'tutti, chi sanno.”

Not content with the Aldine edition of Aristotle, that had appeared at Venice in 1495-6, our primate intrusted to Vergara† the task of editing this philosopher in three columns, the first containing the Greek original, the second the old Latin translation, and the third a new Latin version, for the elucidation of obscure and doubtful passages. Vergara translated a number of the physical, psychological, and metaphysical treatises of the Stagirite; but as the publication was deferred till the completion of the Polyglott, and as the death of Ximenes soon followed on that event, the noble enterprize was for ever abandoned.

We here see how Ximenes, like all the truly great men of the period of the “Renaissance,” such as Picus Mirandola, Marsilius Ficinus, Erasmus, our own Sir Thomas

* Dante.

† He died in 1557, canon of Alcala.

More, Cardinal Sadoletus, Cardinal Ægidius, of Viterbo, Pope Leo X., himself, and many others, rose above the exclusive fanatical pedants of that period, and cherished and cultivated sacred with profane learning, heathen with Christian literature. Ximenes knew that the writings of Aristotle contained many dangerous errors, but he knew also, that studied by the light of Christianity, the defects, short-comings, and aberrations in his philosophy would become manifest, while the sound truths it taught, and the many excellent qualities which distinguished it, would be more clearly brought out. Doubtless, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, classical literature was shamefully abused, and that abuse had some share in promoting the spread of Protestantism. But we must guard against exaggerations on this matter. The two countries where classical, as well as every branch of learning was then most cultivated, Italy and Spain, were uninfected by the errors of the Reformation. And in the few instances where formal resistance was there made against the Church, it was in the form of Socinianism, or a cognate unbelief. Those countries, on the other hand, where morals and discipline were then most relaxed, and which were most backward in intellectual culture, like the north of Germany, Scotland, and the south of France, were precisely those where Protestantism took the deepest root, and obtained the most rapid diffusion. If classical literature was abused in the fifteenth century, so was philosophy often abused in the middle ages, and physics in the eighteenth century. What would become of any gift of God, if the abuse sufficed for its condemnation? *Maneat usus, tollatur abusus.*

Having now considered the services rendered by Ximenes as a prelate and a patron of learning, it is time to contemplate him in his political career. But before we take a view of his purely civil administration, it is right to consider him in his capacity of Grand Inquisitor,—a function, indeed, which in Spain was of a more political than ecclesiastical nature.

The present work contains most valuable information on the Spanish Inquisition, more authentic and detailed, indeed, than in any book we have met with. But as this matter was very carefully treated in this journal about two years ago,* and as last year we ourselves gave a synopsis

* See Dublin Review, No. LVI., June 1850,

of the author's vindication of this tribunal from the vulgar calumnies,* we shall forbear at present going over the same ground. We shall satisfy ourselves with a brief outline of the author's statements on this very important subject, and cite two passages which elucidate points not before fully examined.

Before entering upon this subject, we must observe that Dr. Hefele's defence of the Spanish Inquisition is based upon the avowals of Llorente, the arch-enemy of that tribunal, as well as upon the testimony of Protestant historians, and that but rarely he has recourse to Catholic authorities. After tracing the rise of the first Inquisition instituted against the Albigenses in the thirteenth century, he proceeds to describe the circumstances which led to the foundation of the modern Spanish Inquisition under Ferdinand and Isabella. He points out the difference between the two tribunals, and shows that the later one had a more local and political character than the earlier. He proves the repugnance which the Popes evinced to the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition, and their constant efforts to mitigate its severity. He shows, nevertheless, that its prisons were very roomy and well ventilated; that except in the very rare case of an attempt at suicide, no fetters or manacles were put on the prisoners; that torture for eliciting the truth was applied less frequently, with more humanity, and under greater restrictions than in the secular tribunals of the time; that much mildness and indulgence were evinced in the treatment of prisoners; and that every precaution was devised and enforced to protect innocence, to obviate fraud, malice, or revenge, on the part of accusers and witnesses, and to further in every way the ends of justice. He then speaks of the autos da fé, and convicts Llorente and his copyists of the most enormous exaggerations on this head, showing that the jurisdiction of the holy office was not confined to heresy, but extended to the grosser transgressions of the moral law, such as blasphemy, sacrilege, sorcery, polygamy, unnatural crimes, and other heinous offences. He proves that the number of executions given by the Spanish historian are most grossly exaggerated, and rest on absurd and inconsistent estimates. He then

* See Dublin Review, No. LX., June 1851. Summary of German Literature.

states the opinions of the most illustrious Spaniards on the Inquisition, and, lastly, demonstrates that that institution did not, as is often pretended, exert an injurious influence on literature and science. Lastly, he sketches the biography of Llorente himself, and lays open his meanness, his venality, his want of patriotism, his heterodox sentiments, his rancorous hostility to the Holy See, as well as the gross ignorance, the total absence of critical acumen, and the falsehoods, contradictions, and malignity that pervades all his writings.

That the Popes strove to soften the severities of the Inquisition, was briefly shown in the article of this journal above referred to, but in the following passage this matter is set forth at greater length.

"The Inquisition," says our author, "is often held up as a fruit of the religious tyranny of Rome; but people fail to consider, that it was precisely the Popes who were the least favourable to this institute, and have at almost all periods striven to set limits to it. Even Llorente, who can be no more charged with a predilection for the Papacy, than a Jacobin with a love for royalty, shows this fact in almost countless cases and examples.

"1. Even from the very outset, Pope Sixtus IV. was little satisfied with the plan for the erection of the new Inquisition; and such differences arose in this matter between the courts of Rome and Spain, that the ambassadors of both courts were imprisoned, and Ferdinand called all his subjects away from Rome.* Sixtus, as we know, yielded at last to the urgency of Spain, and granted the Bull of the 1st of November 1478. But when complaints as to the severity of the first inquisitors of Seville reached the Holy See, he issued, on the 29th of January 1482, the vigorous Brief already referred to, wherein he declared the preceding Bull to have been surreptitiously obtained, and in terms of severe censure informed the inquisitors, that it was only out of regard for their sovereign, he now abstained from their deprivation. But in order to obviate for the future such excesses on their part, he further ordained in this Brief, that henceforward they were not alone, but only in union with the diocesan ordinaries, to proceed against heretics.† In the same Bull, he further decidedly opposes the intention of Ferdinand

* Long ago the celebrated Spittler, in his Preface to the Collection of Instructions for Spanish Inquisitors, translated by Reuss, expressed himself as follows: "In fact it is undeniable how for years the Pope struggled, till he were unable any longer to resist the new Institute." P. xxii.

† Llorente, loc. cit. t. iv. p. 347.

and Isabella to introduce into the other provinces of their kingdoms the same Inquisition as at Seville, and for the reason that in these provinces *the old*, that is, the episcopal and ecclesiastical tribunals still subsisted.* And when, not long afterward, Isabella desired that the concurrence above adverted to of the bishops in the proceedings of the Inquisition should be again set aside, Sixtus in courteous terms gave her a decided refusal,†

"2. About the same time, in the year 1483, the Pope (as we saw at page 286,) sought to mitigate the severity of the Spanish Inquisition, by nominating Manrique Archbishop of Seville judge of Appeal, to whom those too severely judged by the inquisitors might turn for help.‡

"3. But as this Archbishop did not insure to those too harshly treated by the Inquisition the adequate protection, the Pope himself received a multitude of appeals from the sentences pronounced by this tribunal, quashed many processes, mitigated many penalties, and insisted on a milder treatment of such as were disposed to repent of and forswear their heresy. Nay, he even conjured the king and queen by the mercifulness of Christ to be gracious and lenient to such of their subjects, as may have fallen into error.‡

"But king Ferdinand, and afterwards his grandson, the emperor Charles V., sought to frustrate all these appeals to Rome, and thereby provoked a number of unpleasant conflicts with the Holy See.¶ Whoever might be aggrieved by a sentence of the Inquisition, was required by these kings to appeal to the royal minister of justice, and not to the court of Rome;¶ and so far as they had from the outset looked on the Inquisition but as a mere state institute, their demand was quite consistent.

"4. Not only by the receiving of appeals, but in other ways did the Popes strive to soften the rigour of this tribunal, namely, by seeking to procure for very many of the condemned the restoration of their goods and civil honours, and thereby preventing the impoverishment of countless families. This, also, we know from an indisputable source; for, when Llorente says anything to the honour of the popes, it must assuredly be the most undeniable fact.††

5. Still more did the popes interest themselves in behalf of the children of the condemned, using their efforts that these should not

* Llorente, *Ibid.* t. iv. p. 348.

† Llorente *loc. cit.* t. iv. p. 353.

‡ Llorente, *ibid.* t. i. p. 165. n. xi. p. 166. n. xiii. t. iv. p. 339-60.

§ Llorente, t. iv. p. 365, where the Papal edict is printed.

¶ Llorente, l. c. t. i. p. 343. n. vii. t. ii. p. 122, n. i.

** Llorente *ibid.* t. ii. p. 471.

†† Llorente *ibid.* t. i. p. 168, n. xviii.; p. 413, n. xiv.; t. iv. pp. 364—366.

suffer together with their fathers, and should not be punished by infamy and confiscation of goods. But, unfortunately, many of these papal decrees were at the royal bidding, not respected.*

6. In the same category of papal mitigations of the Inquisition must we rank the fact, that the popes, in order to spare repentant heretics, repeatedly enjoined the inquisitors to absolve such kind of penitents in secret, that they might escape civil penalties and public shame.† In fact, by a papal mandate of the eleventh of February, 1486, for example, *fifty* heretics were secretly absolved; and so were, by a papal brief of the thirtieth of May of the same year, *fifty* more; the following day another *fifty*; and, by a fourth brief of the thirtieth of June of the same year, again another *fifty* received the same indulgence. A month later, the thirtieth of July, 1486, the pope issued a fifth edict touching secret reconciliation. Llorente does not state the number for whom the Pope this time procured the same favour; but he admits that such papal mandates of grace were frequently not attended to by the Spanish government.‡

7. Under Popes Julius II. and Leo X., not only did the appeals to Rome continue, but we learn from Llorente himself, a number of cases, wherein those popes nominated special judges for such appellants, in order to rescue them from the hands of the inquisition. §

Not less often did it occur, that the popes in special letters to the inquisitors-general, earnestly intimated their wish that prisoners of a less guilty stamp should be released. || Others the pope exempted from the penalty of wearing the sanbenito, or penitential garment,** caused this bandage of ignominy to be removed from the graves of those deceased, where, in aggravation of their punishment, it had been hung, and, in general, saved the memory of many of the dead †† Many of these attempts at mitigation, on the part of the Popes, were attended with a favourable result; others failed because the Spanish kings, especially Ferdinand the Catholic, and Charles V., not rarely by menaces intimidated the judges delegated by the Pope in room of the inquisitors, or prevented the execution

* Llorente *ibid.* t. 1, p. 242, n. vi., vii.; t. 11, p. 34, n. xiii. In like manner had Pope Clement IV., in the thirteenth century, sought to mitigate the severity of the French laws against blasphemers. Le Maistre, *Lettres sur l'Inquisition*, p. 23.

† Llorente *ibid.* t. iv. p. 363.—Raynaldus *ad ann.* 1485, n. 21.

‡ Llorente *ibid.* t. i. pp. 241-2, notes v., viii.

§ Llorente *ibid.* t. 1, p. 407; n. v. p. 409; n. vii. p. 411; n. xi. p. 413; n. xiii. p. 414; n. xvii.

|| Llorente *ibid.* t. 1, p. 408, n. vi.; p. 410, n. viii.; p. 411, n. ix.

** Llorente *ibid.* t. 1, p. 410, n. viii.; p. 411, n. ix.

†† Llorente, *ibid.* t. 1. p. 396, n. xii. p. 363, n. ii. p. 364, n. iii.

of the Papal Briefs.* At times the Papal Indults were even intercepted by the Spanish State Inquisitors,† or the latter caused their sentence to be so rapidly executed, that the Pontifical demurrer arrived too late, or they even actually refused obedience to the Pope.‡ But it was always the monarchs who sought to foil the Papal interference in behalf of mildness, to prevent appeals to Rome, and to render the Inquisition totally independent of the Church.§

8. Not rarely did it occur that the Pope, or his nuncio, or delegate, summoned the Inquisitors before them, and threatened them with excommunication, if they obstinately persecuted any one, seeking for help in Rome. And several times was excommunication really pronounced against them, as for example, by Pope Leo X., against the Inquisitors of Toledo, in the year 1519, to the great dissatisfaction of Charles V.||

9. Even sentences of the Inquisition already passed and half executed, were quashed by the Popes, as for instance, that against Virues, the court preacher to Charles V., who, suspected of some Lutheran opinions, was to be shut up in a monastery, but was in the year 1538, pronounced innocent by Paul III., and declared qualified for all ecclesiastical functions. Later he became bishop of the Canary Islands.**

10. In order to keep false witnesses away from the tribunals of the Inquisition, Leo X., on the 14th December, 1518, ordered that they should incur capital punishment. ††

11. From the non-observance of several of his indults, Leo X., in the year 1519, wished to undertake a complete reform of the Spanish Inquisition. The Grand Inquisitors were to be deposed, and two canons were to be presented to the Inquisitor, by each bishop, one of whom was to be nominated Provincial Inquisitor. But even this election was subject to the approbation of the Holy See, and the new Inquisitors were to be visited every two years.‡‡ Yet Charles V. strained every nerve to foil this design of the Pope, and to prevent the three briefs already issued from coming into operation. But as at that time Charles V. had already become Emperor of Germany, the Pope could not venture to

* Llorente, *ibid.* t. 1. p. 411, n. xi. p. 415, n. xviii.

† Llorente, *ibid.* t. 1. p. 413, n. xiii.

‡ Llorente, *ibid.* t. 1. p. 403, n. xxvi. p. 383, n. vi. p. 284, n. vii.

§ Llorente, *ibid.* t. 1. p. 343, n. vii. p. 413, n. xv. p. 414, n. xviii.
p. 417, n. xxi.

|| Llorente *ibid.* t. 1. p. 413, n. xiv., xv. p. 408, n. v. p. 364
n. xii

** Llorente *ibid.* t. 11. p. 14, n. viii. p. 12, n. x. p. 14, n. xii.

†† Llorente *ibid.* t. 1. p. 417, n. xxii

‡‡ Llorente *ibid.* t. 1. p. 394, n. ix.

engage in any serious conflict with him. In order to intimidate the Pope, the Spanish ambassador even counselled his sovereign to lend a seeming countenance to Luther; but Leo, notwithstanding, persisted in declaring that the Spanish Inquisition wrought very great mischief.*

12. That even in later times, the Popes still continued their attempts to soften the rigours of the Spanish Inquisition, the reader has already seen at p. 196, particularly in the case of Gregory XIII., and on this matter Llorente furnishes us with still further details.† Pope Paul III. in particular bitterly complained of the Spanish State-Inquisition, and protected those who sought to hinder its introduction into Naples.‡ In like manner did Pope Paul IV. and his holy nephew, the great Charles Borromeo resist the introduction of the Spanish Inquisition into Milan;|| and Llorente himself openly avows that the Spanish Government made it a point, whenever the court of Rome enjoined any thing, which was displeasing to the Inquisitors, invariably to take the part of the latter.§

Thus, from all we have stated, the Roman See holds in the history of the Spanish Inquisition a truly honourable place, and shows itself there, what it has been in all ages, a true protectress of the persecuted."—p. 313-318.

We have all of us, in our time, been scared by descriptions of the Spanish Autos da fé. Let us hear the account of them given by the present writer:—

"Dreadful," says he, "is the conception we form of an auto da fé (*actus fidei*) that is, an act of faith, as if it were nought else but a prodigious fire and a colossal *spit*, round which every quarter of a year the Spaniards sat, like cannibals, to revel in the roasting and broiling of some hundred wretches. But I will take the liberty to assert, that in the first place an auto da fé did not consist in burning and slaying, but partly in the acquittal of those falsely accused,** partly in the reconciliation of those repentant with the Church; and that there were many autos da fé, at which nothing burned but the wax tapers, which the penitent, in token of his rekindled light of faith bore in his hand. Llorente, for example, relates in proof of the great zeal of the Inquisition an auto da fé at Toledo, on the 12th February, 1486, at which not fewer than seven hundred and

* Llorente loc. cit. t. 1. p. 396. n. xiii. p. 398. n. xvi. p. 399. v. xvii. p. 414. n. xv.

† Llorente *ibid.* t. 1. p. 452. n. xv. p. 454. n. xviii.

‡ Llorente *ibid.* t. 11. p. 120. n. 11 and vii.

|| Llorente *ibid.* t. 11. p. 192. v. viii. p. 194. n. x..

§ Llorente *ibid.* t. 11. p. 387. n. iv.

** Llorente loc. cit. t. 11. p. 322, n. lxii.

fifty culprits were punished. Among all these, however, *not one was executed*, and their penalty was nothing more than a public Church penance.* A second great auto da fé again took place at Toledo on the 2nd April of the same year, where there were 'nine hundred victims,' and of these *nine hundred, not a single individual* received capital punishment. A third auto da fé on the 1st May of the same year, comprehended seven hundred and fifty persons; and a fourth on the 1st December following, as many as nine hundred and fifty; yet *not a single execution* occurred. *Altogether three thousand three hundred persons* must at that time, at Toledo, have done ecclesiastical penance, while twenty-seven only were sentenced to death; and Llorente would certainly not mis-state the numbers to favour the Inquisition.†

"Somewhat later the same writer speaks of an auto da fé, which was held at Rome in regard to 250 Spaniards, who had appealed to the Pope. ‡ *Not one* among them was executed; but all after performing their penitential exercises were reconciled with the Church; and after this reconciliation had occurred at the auto da fé, they marched out two and two to the Basilica of the Vatican, there to offer up their prayers. In the same order they immediately proceeded to the church of St. Maria Minerva, there laid aside the San Benito or penitential garb, and then retired to their dwellings without further bearing any sign of the sentence pronounced upon them.

Another auto-da-fé is reported by the English clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Townsend, in his *Travels in Spain* in the year 1786, and is alleged by him as an instance of the terrors of the Inquisition. An impostor who sold magical love-potions, and speculated on superstition, was flogged, and sentenced to a public penance; but the inquisitor, who pronounced sentence upon him, addressed him in words such as might be heard from any other judge.§

But of all the trials in the Inquisition which Llorente has recorded for us, there were but *very few* which terminated in the death of the culprit; and no one will believe that he has sought out only the mildest cases, and has fain concealed the severer ones. On the contrary, it is his well-known object to depict in as black colours as possible, the tribunal of the Holy Office.

From what hath been alleged, we can understand wherefore the Spanish people, as Llorente himself avows, looked upon the autos da fé more as acts of *grace* than of *cruelty*, || and wherefore all

* Llorente loc. cit. t. 1 p. 238. n. v. and vi.

† Llorente loc. cit. t. 1. p. 238. n. vi. and vii.

‡ Llorente loc. cit. t. 1. p. 254 n. xxxvi.

§ Le Maistre, *Lettres sur l'Inquisition*. p, 78—86.

|| Llorente loc. cit. t. 1. p. 305, n. iii.

classes and sexes, men and women of the highest birth, took part in such scenes.*

When the reconciliation of the penitents with the Church was terminated, the obstinate heretics and those whose crimes were partly of a civil nature, were delivered over to the secular arm.† That the *auto-da-fé* was hereby brought to an end, and that the Inquisitors retired, is a fact which Llorente has passed over in silence, but which we learn from a trial in the Sicilian Inquisition, communicated at full by Malten, in his *Library of Statistics* for the year 1829. The case itself belongs to the commencement of the eighteenth century, and the civil penalty was inflicted only on the day after the *auto-da-fé*.‡ p. 340—2.

That the number of executions for heresy in Spain has been grossly and maliciously exaggerated by Llorente, is fully demonstrated by our author. But as the delinquencies of the Spanish historian on this head, were also fully set forth in the article above referred to, we shall forbear entering again upon this investigation.§

We shall, therefore, close this matter with the following summary remarks, bearing as they do on the subject of the present biography:—

“We have therefore,” says our author, “more than *one* just ground of suspicion, when Llorente asserts that under the eighteen year’s administration of Torquemada, eight thousand eight hundred persons perished in the flames;|| for as we have seen, the foundations whereon he has raised this scaffolding of numbers, are utterly hollow, and it were not unjust to oppose to his conjectural computation one like the following: “Llorente has magnified the number of those condemned by the Inquisition of Seville in the year 1481, to six times as many as they were; the number of Jews banished, to five times as many;**” therefore we may assume he has swelled in the same proportion the total number of the victims of that tribunal.

“Though we by no means intend to make this assertion seriously, still it may show the reader how the arbitrary method of Llorente may be turned against himself.

“This arbitrariness and inaccuracy on the part of Llorente is glaring

* Le Maistre, loc. cit. p. 86—7.

† Llorente l. c. t. l. p. 321. n. 11. “La condamnation au feu par la justice du Roi.”

‡ Pfeilschifter “Corrections.” pp. 35—37.

§ See “Dublin Review,” No. LVI. p. 460-3.

|| Llorente loc. cit. vol. iv. p. 252.

** Prescott’s Ferdinand and Isabella, part ii. p. 637 note.

ingly manifest in his treatment of Cardinal Ximenes. The former expressly asserts, as we shall see later, that our archbishop sought to mitigate the severities of the Inquisition, deposed its bad functionaries, pardoned many of the accused, and the like. Nay, among the special sentences of the Inquisition cited by this writer as belonging to the period, when this third Inquisitor-General held office, not a single sentence involved capital punishment. Nevertheless, he scruples not to assign in his conjectural estimate as many annual executions to the Inquisitorship of Ximenes, as to that of Deza and his assistant Lucero, both of whom he had repeatedly accused of the most unmeasured harshness and cruelty. But that such computations are unfounded and unjust, it is surely needless to demonstrate."—p. 345—9.

A subordinate judge of the Inquisition, Lucero, under the Grand Inquisitor Deza, had, through credulity and ignorance, admitted the evidence of many worthless and perjured witnesses, and, in consequence, had passed many unjust sentences, whereby innocent persons were condemned to imprisonment. This cruelty provoked a popular revolt in Andalusia; and this occasioned the appointment of Ximenes to the important office of Inquisitor-General. In entering upon his new functions his first act was to nominate a commission of learned and virtuous theologians and canonists for investigating the conduct of the criminated judge, Lucero. The result of this inquiry was the reversal of the judicial sentences complained of; the liberation of the prisoners; the restitution of their property; the punishment of the false witnesses; and the incarceration of the offending judge, who seems to have erred more from precipitancy than from malice.

Ximenes, moreover, as his earliest biographer, Gomez, testifies, issued mandates, containing very detailed instructions, how, if they would fain avoid any well-grounded suspicion of relapse into their former errors, the Christians newly converted from Judaism were to conduct themselves. And Llorente himself acknowledges that, in order to promote a more careful religious instruction of this class of men, the new inquisitor instituted special curacies for this purpose in the larger cities.

"In another case, indeed," says our author, Llorente has done Ximenes evident injustice;—I mean in the reckoning of those punished by the Inquisition under his presidency. Leaving out of consideration the fact, that in this instance, as in all others in Llorente's work, the numbers stated rest not on documents, but on conjectural

estimates, whose falsity has been proved, there are in the case before us circumstances calculated to aggravate this writer's wrong. In the first place he ascribes to Ximenes *eleven* years of office as Grand Inquisitor, while, according to his own showing, he held the function but for ten years; for it was on the first of October, 1507, he entered upon his office. This already makes a difference in the conjectural estimate. Moreover, Llorente did not observe that as Ximenes was Inquisitor-General of Castile only, and not of Arragon, he ought to have ascribed to him the responsibility, not for twelve courts of Inquisition, with their supposed rates of condemnation, but for seven only. This difference alone would reduce to nearly one half the hypothetic number of two thousand executions.

"In the year 1514 Ximenes erected a new tribunal at Cuença, and now Llorente again commits the fault we have already censured, namely, that of making the number of culprits uniformly increase, with the increase of tribunals of inquisition. Lastly, he starts with the quite unauthorized postulate, that Ximenes, whom he even commends for his mildness, has in every year caused as many persons to be executed, as his predecessors, Torquemada and Deza, depicted by him as cruel.

"Anything sure, fixed, or even probable, as to the number of trials conducted under the Inquisitorship of Ximenes, is accordingly unknown to us. On the other hand, we know that our Primate had more accurately circumscribed the districts of the several tribunals according to Provinces and Bishoprics, and that during his presidency, the Inquisition was planted in the conquered African fortress of Oran, as well as in the Canary Islands and in America. In the latter region, however, the jurisdiction of the Holy Office did not extend to the natives, but was confined to the old Christian settlers.

"In all these concerns of the Inquisition we have hitherto described, as in every other transaction of his life, Ximenes proved himself a character, severe indeed, but straightforward, and thoroughly honest."—p. 388-9.

It is now time to look upon Ximenes in his capacity of statesman.

After the conquest of Granada, a bishopric was there founded, and bestowed on the wise and virtuous Talavera, Bishop of Avila. By his almsdeeds, preaching, and virtues, he won many of the Saracens over to the Christian religion. In 1499 Ferdinand and Isabella visited Granada, and sought by every means to promote the material well-being of their Moorish subjects. While, however, they maintained inviolate the ample edict of toleration they had issued, they strove, by the establishment of pacific missions, to convert the professors of Islam to the Christian faith. Ximenes, who had accompanied his sovereigns on

their visit to Granada, took a part with the bishop of this city in the task of conversion. Under the grace of heaven the holy work went on most prosperously, and many of the Saracens opened their eyes to the truths of Christianity.

This success excited the jealousy and hatred of the Mussulmen, and led them to acts of hostility towards the government. The ringleaders were imprisoned by Ximenes; but he certainly, as his biographer remarks, violated the edict of toleration, when he forced the prisoners to receive from his chaplains religious instruction, and allowed those, who declined such instruction, to be ill-treated.*

We cannot approve of the measures of coercion adopted by Ximenes in his efforts to Christianize Granada and its province. The burning of eighty thousand copies of the Coran, and other books of Mussulman devotion, on the public place; the severe measures adopted against the descendants of the renegades from Christianity, called Elchi, such as the compulsory education of their children in the Christian faith, and the ill-treatment of the Saracen prisoners we have just spoken of, were acts unjust in themselves, and calculated in the highest degree to irritate and embitter the minds of the Moorish population against the government, as well as alienate them from Christianity. "Those contemporaries of Ximenes were right," says our author, "who blamed these acts of violence, and referred to the old synods of Toledo, which declared that no one was to be coerced into the faith." Hence it is not surprising to hear that the profession of Christianity on the part of very many Moors was simulated, and that in despite of the careful instruction which they had received, they relapsed into their former errors.

It is much to be regretted that the management, spiritual and temporal, of the Saracens of Granada, had not been left entirely in the hands of Talavera, archbishop of the city, and the civil governor, Count Mendoza, of Tendilla, both men of such mild and conciliatory temper, and animated withal with the purest zeal for religion.

The following is an animated description of the revolt of the Granadian Moors, brought about by the harsh measures we have described.

* Even Llorente, however, in this matter, blames, not Ximenes, but his subordinate ecclesiastics.

"After the resentment of the Moors, says our author, had, in consequence of these acts, been for some time secretly fermenting against Ximenes, it suddenly, in the last days of the year 1499, burst out into a very dangerous outbreak. Salzeda, the steward of Ximenes, accompanied by an Alguacil, or bailiff, and a young servant, had gone into the Albaycin, or Moorish quarter of Granada, to imprison the daughter of an Elche, or renegade; but the girl raised such violent cries and protested so passionately against the violation of treaties, that soon many Mahometans rushed to her rescue.

"The Alguacil, already hated on account of other imprisonments, having replied with menaces to the invectives of the exasperated Moors, was soon ill-treated with his companions, and was at last killed by a stone. The Primate's steward was only rescued from the same fate by the compassion of a Moorish woman, who concealed him under her bed, till such time as he could return in safety to the city.

"As soon as the Alguacil was dead, the whole Albaycin, which in its five thousand houses lodged none but Mahometans, rushed to arms; the unbelievers in the other quarters of the city, joined the insurrection; and in fury the riotous multitude proceeded to the dwelling of Ximenes, to annihilate the oppressor of their freedom with all his assistants. But a few days before they had, in those very streets which now they traversed in tumultuous uproar, and shouting out for his blood, intoned songs of praise on his liberality. In startling contrast to this popular inconstancy, was the heroic equanimity of the Primate. His friends wished to convey him by a secret way into Granada's citadel, the celebrated Alhambra; but he protested that he would not, in the hour of danger, leave his household; on the contrary, he animated them by his example to a courageous resistance, and with calm presence of mind ordered various measures of defence for his house. So he succeeded in resisting for a whole night the assaults of the populace, and at break of day the noble Earl Tendilla brought military aid from the Alhambra, and delivered the besieged Prelate. Still the insurrection* lasted nine days longer.

"Then Count Tendilla sent a herald to the rebels to summon them to order; but they broke his staff upon his body, and slew him.† Hereupon Ximenes called the Alfaquis to him, and sought by kindly speech to tranquillize the multitude; but the insurrection could not be appeased. Then the Archbishop Talavera ventured on a perilous attempt, which turned out successful. Attended only by a chaplain, who bore before him the episcopal cross, he went on foot to meet the unbelieving rebels, as once did Pope Leo

* Gomez. l. c. p. 960. Marmol Carvajal *Historia del Rebelion y castigo de los Moriscos*. Madrid, 1797. p. 116—120.

† Martyr. Ep. 212

towards the heathen Attila. The sight of the mild, universally beloved Prelate immediately softened many exasperated souls; and multitudes pressed round the man of God, to kiss the hem of his garment.

This momentary calm succeeding to a savage tempest was turned to due account by Count Tendilla, for now he advanced as a messenger of peace, and in the garb of peace before the assembled multitude, and in token of friendly feelings threw his scarlet cap among the crowd. This called forth acclamations of joy. The two popular men now represented to the Moors, how vain was their struggle against powerful Spain; and how they would only thereby bring about their own misery; but that if they would return to order the Count and the Archbishop would exert all their influence to obtain the Royal Pardon for the penitent. In proof of his sincere intentions, Count Tendilla left in the Albaycin his wife and two of his children as hostages. This had the due effect, and the rebellion was brought to an end.* p. 63—5.

"Ferdinand and Isabella, at the suggestion of Ximenes, left the Moorish inhabitants of Granada no other alternative but adoption of the Christian faith, or banishment. The greater part embraced Christianity; the rest fled to the Coasts of Barbary, or to the Sierras, south of Granada, where they helped to inflame the vengeance of their countrymen, and kindle the fires of a religious war, which there shortly afterwards broke out in terrific rage. This conversion, indeed, as Peter Martyr observes, was but an outward and forced conversion; so that Mohammed lived in the hearts of those who had Christ upon their lips.

"A harsh judgment on Ximenes, because of this Moorish conversion, has been pronounced by the North American historian, Prescott, when he calls it a masterpiece of Monkish casuistry that Ximenes should have found in the rebellion of the Saracens a justification for breaking the former treaties of pacification. † But, in fact, the Moors themselves had by their revolt been the first to violate those treaties; and surely no government in the world can deem itself bound to preserve to its rebellious subjects the same advantages, which, upon the condition of a peaceful and loyal submission it had guaranteed to them." p. 67.

In the Alpujarras an insurrection broke out; the Moors burst in upon the neighbouring province, and ravaged the lands of the Christians; but by the united efforts of the Count Tendilla and his former scholar, Consalvo, the great captain, the rebellion was put down. In other Sierras the

* Martyr. Ep. 212. Marmol Carvajal l. c. p. 119. Prescott. Part ii p. 138—9.

† Ferdinand and Isabella, part ii. p. 169.

Saracens rose, and nearly annihilated the Christian army, which had marched out against them. Ferdinand now compelled the Moors of Granada, and the adjacent parts, to embrace the Catholic faith, or on payment of a fixed capitation tax, to quit the Spanish territory.

The Moriscoes, or Moorish Christians, of Granada, were forbidden, by an edict of the 20th July, 1501, all intercourse with the unconverted Saracens in the other provinces of Spain. This ordinance is by our author ascribed in part to the influence of Ximenes. But not so a subsequent edict, the celebrated Pragmatic of the 12th February, 1502, whereby all Saracens above a certain age were commanded to leave Spain. The Grand Inquisitor, Deza, confessor to Ferdinand, is shown by Dr. Hefele to be in all probability the author of this edict. Few Saracens, however, resorted to emigration, but like their brethren in Granada, professed outwardly, at least, the Christian religion. In Arragon, on the other hand, the profession of Islam was tolerated till the times of Charles the Fifth.

Spain, as we have seen, was, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in a most perilous position. The Jews, by their wealth and intellectual culture, had obtained extensive political influence, and exercised great and manifold oppression over their Christian fellow-countrymen. Affecting the profession of Christianity, they rose to high places in the state, and even in the Church, and often entered into conspiracies with the Moors for the overthrow of the Church and monarchy in Spain. The Moors, in their turn, and often under the semblance of the Christian faith, were on a secret understanding not only with the Jews, but with their brethren in Africa, for the purpose of reimposing the Mussulman yoke on Christian Spain. This state of things led, as we have seen, to the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition under its new form, and may be pleaded in extenuation, though not in justification of its rigours, as well as of the very severe policy pursued by the government of that country.

The Primate now exerted all the resources of his diplomatic skill, and all the influence derivable from his virtues in endeavouring to bring about a reconciliation between Ferdinand and his son-in-law, Philip, who had now arrived from Belgium, to assume in the name of his Queen, the imbecile Joanna, the government of Castile. Though he

were unable to effect a cordial understanding between the two, he yet prevented their hatred breaking out into open hostilities. On Ferdinand's retiring from Castile, and repairing to take possession of his newly-acquired dominion in Naples, Ximenes was called to the councils of Philip, and there did much to check the lavish expenditure of the new Government, as well as open the eyes of the monarch to the true character of the unworthy favourites who beset him.

Philip was soon carried off by fever, in the flower of his years. By reason of the mental incapacity, which disqualified Joanna from taking in hand the reins of government, a new Regent of Castile was to be appointed in the room of the deceased Philip. Ximenes, who formed part of the new Government Council, laboured to procure for Ferdinand the nomination to the Regency of Castile.

At no period does this great man evince more statesman-like ability, and more consummate knowledge of mankind, than in the interval which elapsed between the death of Philip, and the return of Ferdinand from Italy. At one moment he had to quiet the suspicions which the brooding fancy of the melancholy Joanna incessantly gave birth to; at another, to allay the jealousies and animosities of contending factions among the nobles. Now he had firmly to uphold the authority of a disunited Regency against rebellious grandees; now to temporize, and from the difficult circumstances he was placed in, to tolerate disorders, in order not to aggravate dissensions, and provoke a dangerous hostility. He had on one hand to avert from himself the suspicion of ambitious designs; and yet, on the other, to secure his own political ascendancy, which, in the then condition of Spain, could best subserve the interests of the State. His wonted policy was to humble the nobles, and enlarge the prerogatives of the crown; but in this interval he had to comply with the humours, and bear with the opposition of many grandees. Here he had to soften the antipathy of a portion of the aristocracy against Ferdinand;—there to thwart the intrigues of others, even among his co-regents, for conferring on the Emperor Maximilian, the regency of Castile. In short, it was only by his consummate foresight, prudence, and forbearance, he was enabled to rescue his country from the perils which encompassed it on every side.

On the return of Ferdinand from Italy, Ximenes was

raised to the dignity of Cardinal. As the latter had been so instrumental in procuring for this Prince the regency of Castile, it was but a fair requital that Ximenes should be called to the royal councils. But the mistrustful and crafty Ferdinand never reposed in our Cardinal the same confidence, nor evinced for his person the same esteem, which he had ever been honoured with on the part of the high-minded Isabella.

The conquest of Oran, in Africa, is one of the measures which reflect most lustre on the administration of Ximenes. While the conception of this enterprise evinced his statesman-like genius, its arrangement and final execution bespoke on his part no ordinary military talents. He saw the necessity of destroying this nest of pirates, who infested the Mediterranean, interrupted and injured commerce, scoured the coasts of Spain, ravaging her cities, and carrying off her unsuspecting inhabitants into ignominious servitude. After much difficulty he obtained from King Ferdinand his consent to the measure. He hereupon raised a tax, and levied troops, contributing largely to the expedition out of his own funds, and receiving from the clergy liberal donations, as well as a considerable loan from the Chapter of Toledo. He showed no ordinary skill in allaying the jealousy of the military commanders under his orders, in appeasing the dissensions of the officers, and in quelling a mutiny of the soldiers, which might have frustrated the whole expedition. He established an admirable discipline in the army, supplied its wants with the greatest promptitude and exactness, and while, by his addresses, he inflamed the religious and patriotic ardour of the troops, he planned, and in part directed all the operations of the siege. It was only at the urgent entreaties of the officers and men, he forebore exposing himself to the hostile fire. While the army was engaged in the fight, he, like a second Moses, lifted up his hands towards heaven in supplication; and by his counsels achieved a brilliant victory over the Saracens.

Oran was conquered with slight loss to the Spaniards; but the conquest was attended with a dreadful slaughter of the Arabs, and an immense acquisition of booty. A number of Christian captives were restored to their liberty; and the power of the Moorish pirates was for a long time crushed. Thus, by this expedition, where Ximenes displayed no less courage and energy than wisdom and skill,

the honour of the Spanish arms was exalted, commerce freed from harass and obstruction, the fetters of the Christian captive were struck off, the peace and happiness of families insured, and the blessings of Christianity and civilization promoted and diffused.

Just before his death Ferdinand appointed by his will Ximenes sole Regent of all Spain, until the arrival of Charles V. from Belgium. During this Regency, which lasted for nearly two years, our Cardinal was enabled to exert without impediment, and to the fullest advantage, his great statesman-like talents. With rare skill he defeated the designs of discontented grandees, put down armed rebellions against the state with vigour, yet mildness, punishing with exile the ring-leaders only, and forgiving the subordinate accomplices. In order more effectually to repress revolt, as well as to guard against the machinations of France, he new-modelled the military organization of Spain, and laid the foundation for a standing army. He increased the navy to protect the coasts against the piratical incursions of the Moors; and by the equipment of new vessels, soon insured to the Spaniards a brilliant victory against their Saracen foes. By a reduction in the government pensions, as well as by a securer and cheaper method of levying the taxes, the public finances, which had been much deranged by the prodigality of the court of Brussels, were under his care brought into some degree of order. He repelled with great energy a hostile aggression of the French, on Navarre; and by his firmness and forbearance combined, conciliated and overawed its inhabitants, and was thus the means of ultimately preserving that province to the Spanish crown.

No position was more beset with difficulties than that of Ximenes. While, as we have seen, he had to baffle the plans, and resist the assaults of external foes; and at the same time to watch the machinations, and sometimes repress the open revolt of powerful nobles; he had, also, to quiet the moody suspicions of the imbecile Joanna;—to cope with the secret opposition of Queen Germaine, the widow of King Ferdinand;—and to check the extravagance, and counteract the endless intrigues of the courtiers of Brussels.

Much as we may admire, however, the vigour that characterized this Prelate's civil administration, it cannot be denied, that, in striking at the abuses of aristocratic

power, he shook its existence, and with it the existence of the old free Germanic Constitution of the Middle Age. But the principle of regal absolutism, it should be observed, was in the spirit of the times, and was the result of a variety of circumstances and events, and not the offspring of individual design. Such a tendency, and that in a much higher degree, was apparent at the same period in France.

It is now time to consider the policy of Ximenes, with regard to the possessions of Spain in the New World.

Ximenes was born in the same year as Columbus, and strange to say, his appointment as Confessor to the Queen was coincident with the discovery of the New World by that great navigator.

After the conquest of Granada, Queen Isabella had yielded to the prayer of Columbus, and granted him the ships he required for his voyage of discovery. The sight of the native Indians, whom the latter brought with him on his return from America, excited the zeal of all Spaniards for the conversion of the newly discovered regions to the Christian faith. Isabella and Ferdinand stood as sponsors at the baptism of these Indians, and then sent them to Seville, to be brought up as missionaries for the service of their own country. Twelve priests taken from the secular and regular clergy, accompanied Columbus on his second voyage to America. The excesses and cruelties of the Spaniards retarded, as our readers well know, the progress of Christianity and civilization in the new settlements. To enter into this subject would lead us far beyond our limits. Suffice it to say, that the Dominicans, and especially Las Casas, distinguished themselves by their energetic denunciation of the oppressions exercised by their fellow-countrymen, and especially the royal functionaries, on the unhappy natives of America. While the Dominicans refused the sacraments to all Spaniards holding American slaves, the Franciscans followed a milder practice, and insisted only on the humane and kindly treatment of those in servitude.

After several changes of governors, and various schemes of reform, which had proved abortive, Ximenes, on the death of King Ferdinand, and while Regent of Castile, intrusted a certain number of Hieronymite monks with a political mission to America. With these envoys he associated Las Casas, assigning to him a handsome pension, and nominating him protector of all the Indians, together

with a very honest and highly respected civilian, Don Alonso Zuazo, who was appointed judicial investigator of the state of the country.

Nothing can exceed the wisdom of the instructions delivered by our Cardinal to these envoys. Our space will allow us to point out but a few of the more important points.

Immediately on landing in America, the monastic commissioners were to enfranchise the slaves of all Spaniards absent from the colonies. They were then to summon before them the colonial proprietors, declare to them that the report of their misconduct had given rise to the mission on which they came, and then put them on their oath to give evidence as to the state of the country. The monks were then to call the chief Caziques into their presence, and announce to them they were the free subjects of the King of Spain, and that his majesty would resent any wrong inflicted upon them. In order to conciliate the confidence of the Indians, the monks were, in their visitations, to take with them such priests as were acquainted with their language, and possessed their good-will.

In the islands, where the Indians were doomed to mining, the villages were to be situated contiguous to the mines, and were to be provided with a church, a hospital, and a larger dwelling for the Cazique. The tribes, which were at a greater distance from the mines, were to be trained up to agriculture, and the breeding of cattle, and were required to pay a moderate impost to the King of Spain. The royal administrators, and the clergy of the Indian villages were expected to exercise a vigilant superintendence over the natives, and see that they wore dresses, slept in beds, and sold not their furniture or utensils, ate not on the floor, and were contented with one wife; while the women guilty of adultery were to be chastised. In every village, a secular priest, or a monk, was to be appointed to offer up the Holy Sacrifice for the Indians, instruct the adults in religion, catechize the children, administer the sacraments, and watch over the poor, the sick, and helpless orphans.

In case the monastic commissioners found the *Repartimientos*, or forced labour established by Columbus to be indispensably necessary, they received the following special instructions from Ximenes. In that case, the Indian women and children were not to be forced to work; the men were

not to be laden with burthens; they were not to be exchanged; the hours of labour were to be abridged, and three hours of recreation allotted to them; their wages were to be raised; and every day a pound of meat was to be apportioned to each Indian.

The importation of African negro slaves into the new colonies, though here and there already practised, was in a special edict strictly prohibited by our Cardinal. The importation of such slaves as being more robust and capable of labour than the American Indians, was, in his headlong zeal to alleviate the condition of the latter, subsequently recommended by the honest, but too intemperate Las Casas. And as our readers are aware, under Charles V. this recommendation was carried into effect.

The Hieronymite Fathers, and the Jurist Zuazo, on their arrival in America, evinced great prudence and firmness in the execution of the delicate task confided to them. The total abolition of the *Repartimientos* they found impracticable; and, therefore, they conformed to the instructions which, in the event of such impossibility, Ximenes had delivered to them. Thus, then, had our great Cardinal the merit of laying the foundations of that more humane legislation in respect to slaves, which so long honourably distinguished the colonies of Spain above those of other Christian countries.

This survey of Ximenes's political career we will conclude with the following able parallel instituted by our author between him and Cardinal Richelieu.

"The greatest contrast," says he, "in the policy of these two statesmen consists on the first blush in the fact, that Ximenes had sought to exalt the Hispano-Austrian Monarchy, while on the other hand, Richelieu exerted all his energies in order to weaken, and if possible entirely shatter that power. But this concrete opposition had its rise in one and the same leading idea, namely, the effort of both to render their country a power of the first magnitude. In this the two succeeded; but the means employed by both were in part very different. Both provided for the due administration of justice; both improved the finances; both reduced the number of finance functionaries, exercised the strictest supervision over them; and suppressed all superfluous pensions, both promoted the interests of the colonies, commerce, and manufactures, added to the naval power of their respective countries, and the like. But while Ximenes ever strove to bring the accused before the bar of the ordinary tribunals, Richelieu liked to summon extraordinary commissions for the trial of political offences. Nay, when it would

serve the interest of government, he would even uphold gross and immoral abuses, such as the sale of offices—a disorder that Ximenes would not for an hour have tolerated; and, in general, the French cardinal was not scrupulous in the selection of means, when they were but conducive to the welfare of the state. He made, on the whole, conscience very subordinate to interests of state, and blamed the statesmen who wished to be scrupulous moralists.* That he herein went much too far, and really resorted to a dishonourable and unscrupulous policy for the advantage of France, may be proved by a hundred examples; and Germany, alas! feels to the present day the effects of that policy.

“The violence which Ximenes had recourse to in Christianizing the Moors, and his conduct as Grand Inquisitor, have often been opposed to the policy pursued by Richelieu in regard to the Huguenots. Richelieu indeed, annihilated the political independence of the latter—their state within a state; but so far from assailing their religious freedom, he protected and defended it. He was therefore taxed with tepidity towards his own Church; but as a statesman he thought he should not encroach upon the religious freedom of the Huguenots, although as bishop he converted many of them by peaceful missions.†

“Both these statesmen distinguished themselves at the head of affairs by the union of two qualities, which are not always found conjoined in ministers, namely, by as much talent and industry, and by as much indefatigable activity as genius.

“With the two above-mentioned qualities, our two cardinals united a third, which was equally necessary, to wit, inflexible firmness in the execution of their resolves formed after *mature* deliberation. We witnessed the firmness of Ximenes at Albaycin, (p. 64,) and on many other occasions, and observed how precisely in the moment of danger he was ever most courageous. But of Richelieu it is related, that he once said of himself, ‘I am by nature fearful, and venture not to undertake anything without several times reflecting on it; but after I have once formed my resolution, I act boldly, press onward to my end, bear everything down, dash it to the ground, and cover it with my cardinal’s gown;‡’ and in his celebrated political testament he declares courage and intrepidity to be among the most necessary qualities of a statesman.

“Both possessed an extraordinary influence over the affairs and destinies of their respective countries. But while Ximenes served

* Raumer Hist. of Europe (in German). pp. 63, 64, 66, 72, 88, 130. Vol. iv. Richard Parallèle entre Richelieu et Ximenes, pp. 124, 151, 208.

† Richard; Parall. p. 36. Aubery Vie de Richelieu, pp. 37—40, pp. 603-6.

‡ Raumer’s Hist. of Europe, (in German) vol. iv. p. 71. Also Daniel Histoire de la France, part xiv., p. 424.

rulers, who were themselves endued with great qualifications for government, and ruled independently, Richelieu served a king. virtuous and prudent indeed, but devoid of energy, and this of course gave him far greater power in the public administration than was the lot of the Spaniard. We can say that for eighteen years Richelieu *alone* governed France, and that he was a minister in name only, like Charles Martel and the Pepins in the Merovingian times. Ximenes, on the other hand, was really nothing more than minister under Ferdinand and Isabella; and even during the year and a half of his regency, his power was more limited than that of the French statesman."—pp. 575 9.

In the last months of his life, during the year 1517, Ximenes was engaged in making preparations for the arrival of Charles V. in Spain, and for the convocation of the Cortes. The monarch he made acquainted by letter with all the details of Spanish administration, recommended to his notice trustworthy advisers, warned him against evil counsellors, and suggested a variety of measures conducive to the welfare of the state. He advised him, on account of the ferment in the popular mind, to delay the convocation of the Cortes, an advice the neglect whereof was afterwards attended with very dangerous consequences. The Infant Ferdinand, who was surrounded by intriguers, and whose mind had been filled with ambitious designs, the cardinal recommended Charles to remove to Germany, and invest with the archduchy of Austria. This counsel was happily complied with, and was thus the means of saving, amid the civil broils which shortly afterwards ensued, the kingdom of Spain to the youthful emperor.

On his arrival in Spain, Charles V. interchanged with our Cardinal several confidential letters. But unfortunately at the instigation of his treacherous Flemish advisers, who were jealous of the ascendancy of Ximenes, the monarch protracted his journey in the north of Spain, in order to delay meeting the Regent, till he at last addressed him a letter, wherein, after thanking him for former services, he discharged him not only from the regency, but from all political functions whatsoever. Happily the feelings of Ximenes were spared the cruel stroke which such a manifestation of royal ingratitude was calculated to inflict, for when the king's letter arrived, he was too ill to have its contents communicated to him.

His last will and testament, wherein with the permission

of the Holy See, our Cardinal had made various bequests out of the property of his arch-diocese, he now revised, and after making the university of Alcalá his chief legatee, he left very handsome legacies to the churches and monasteries founded by him, and bequeathed considerable donations for the embellishment of religious edifices, the ransom of prisoners, the marriage portions of young girls, and the establishment of anniversaries for the repose of his own soul. Feeling his end approach, he spoke to those about him briefly, but with point, on the perishableness of all earthly greatness, and on the infinite mercy of God, clasped the crucifix with both hands, implored of the Almighty with tears the forgiveness of his sins, and invoked the intercession of all God's saints, especially the most holy Virgin, St. Michael, the Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, St. James, the patron of Spain, St. Francis Assisi, and St. Eugenius and St. Ildephonsus, the most ancient bishops of Toledo. While all around were bathed in tears, he received with fervent devotion the Holy Viaticum and Extreme Unction. He then took up his pen to recommend once more to the protection of the king his beloved Alcalá; but death had now stiffened his hand, and as his attendants were reading prayers over him, and came to those words of David, "*In te Domine speravi*," he breathed out his soul on the 8th of November, 1517, in the eighty-second year of his age, and in the twenty-second of his episcopate.

The tidings of his death filled all Spain with mourning. Thus departed one, who in the words of a recent Spanish academician,* cited by our author, "united in his person the virtues of the most pious monk, the most zealous bishop, and the most consummate statesman."†

* Arnao ; *Memorias de la Academia*, t. iv. p. 2.

† In seven different Churches of Spain Ximenes is revered as saint.

- ART. VI.—1. *History of the Council of Trent.* From the French of L. F. Bungener, 8vo. Edinburgh: Constable and Co., 1852.
2. *The Catechism of the Council of Trent.* Translated into English, with Notes. By THEODORE ALOIS BUCKLEY, B. A. 8vo. London, 1852.
3. *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent.* With a Supplement containing the Condemnations of the early Reformers, and other matters relating to the Council. Critically translated into English. By THEODORE ALOIS BUCKLEY, B. A., of Christ's Church, Oxford, 8vo. London: Routledge, 1851.
4. *The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Ecumenical Council of Trent, celebrated under the Sovereign Pontiffs, Paul III., Julius III., and Pius IV.* Translated by the Rev. J. Waterworth. To which are prefixed, Essays on the external and internal History of the Council, 8vo. London: Dolman, 1848.
5. *Geschichte des Hoch-heiligen und allgemeinen Conciliums von Trient. Übersichtlich dargestellt.* [A Cursory Sketch of the History of the Council of Trent.] Von DR. HEINRICH RUTJES. 8vo. Munster: 1846.
6. *Bewurtheilung der Controversen Sarpi's und Pallavicini's in der Geschichte des Trienter Concils.* [Examination of the Controversies of Sarpi and Pallavicini in the History of the Council of Trent.] Von DR. JOHANN NEPOMUK BRISCHAR, 2 Theile. 8vo. Tübingen: 1844.
7. *Die Grossen Kirchen-versammlungen des 15ten und 16ten Jahrhunderts.* [The Great Church Councils of the 15th and 16th centuries.] Von DR. J. WESSENBERG, 8vo., 4 Bänden. Tübingen, 1840.
8. *Kritische Beleuchtung des Wessenbergischen Schrifts über den Kirchen-Versammlungen des 15ten und 16ten Jahrhunderts.* [A Critical Examination of Wessenberg's Work on the Great Councils of the 15th and 16th Centuries.] Von DR. J. C. HEFELE. Tübingen: 1842.
9. *Geschichtliche Darstellung des grossen Allgemeines Concils zu Trient.* [A Historical Account of the Great General Council of Trent.] Von DR. H. GOSCHL. 1840.]
10. *Memoirs of the Council of Trent, principally derived from MS. and unpublished Records.* By the Rev. J. MENDHAM. 8vo. London: Duncan, 1834.
11. *Acta Concilii Tridentini, Anno MDLXII.' et MDLXIII. usque in finem Concilii, Pio IV. Pont. Max. A Gabriele Paleotto descripta.* Edente JOSEPHO MENDHAM, M. A. Londini, apud Jacobum Duncan, 1842.

IF an assembly, even of the most ordinary interest, takes place in these days, a full account of its deliberations is sure to be found on every breakfast table the next morning. We learn in the most exact detail the persons who were present; those who held the most prominent place in the proceedings; what each one said; what points were discussed; what view was taken of each by the various parties; in a word, we are enabled to enter into every part of its history as accurately, and perhaps even more accurately, than those who were actually present;—and this almost the very moment its deliberations have been brought to a conclusion.

To us, habituated as we are to these facilities of obtaining early and accurate information which modern enterprise and modern art have supplied, it will appear almost inconceivable that an assemblage such as the great Council of Trent, so long and so anxiously expected, involving so many interests, enlisting so many of the strongest sympathies of Europe, pregnant with so many important consequences, and engaging actively so much of the intellect, the energy, the piety, the zeal, and, alas, the passions also, of the generation upon which it fell, should have been suffered to remain for more than half a century after its conclusion, without any professed historian, and even without any published authentic materials for the compilation of its history.

Yet, strange as it may appear, so it is with this great council. In the general histories, or historical collections, of the period, of course, it cannot but occupy a very prominent place. Sleidan, Goldast, Beaucaire, and the President De Thou, each according to his own lights, and following the inspiration of his own peculiar bias, have devoted a considerable proportion of their space to its history and proceedings. In the correspondence of the period, too, so far as it has since been made public, or is known to be preserved, the council and its members, their acts, their motives, and their opinions, receive an ample share of notice, and are subjected to criticism as unsparing as the most ardent modern lover of the freedom of the press could desire. Many fragmentary histories, or sketches of the history, or of particular portions of the history, too, were composed, for the most part now lost or existing only in MS. But still, large as was the space which the council occupied in the public mind of Europe, lengthened as

was the period over which, with its several interruptions, it was spread, no full and complete record of its transactions, no monograph, to use the modern phrase, of its history, was undertaken, either at the close of its sittings, or during the forty years that remained of the century to which it belongs.

Perhaps, too, it may seem still more remarkable, that even after this protracted silence was broken at last, a second period of literary inactivity, as regards the Tridentine history, equally long and equally inexplicable, is found to succeed. Fra Paolo Sarpi's history raised the veil for a space. The eyes of Europe, part in admiration, part in abhorrence, for a while were fixed upon the great event which he had undertaken to depict. His book, originally published in Italian, was translated into every language, Latin, French, English, and German. It passed through three editions in Latin in three years, 1619-22. It was made for a time the subject of numberless criticisms, and gave occasion to a host of controversies. At last it called forth the lengthened and elaborate reply of Pallavicini, still the standard authority on every important point in the secret history of the assembly. He, too, had his day of admiration and of censure. The discussions to which his unsparing dissection of his unscrupulous predecessor gave rise, for a time formed the subject of a most animated controversy. But it stopt there. After a few side-battles, the learned world rested satisfied with the labours of these two great rivals. No further attempt to continue the enquiry on original and independent grounds is discernible for a long time. The important letters, memoirs, and other documents published by Spondanus, Bzovius, and Raynaldi, in the continuation of Baronius's *Annals*, are, for the most part, the same on which Pallavicini's narration is based. To these materials Le Plat has added but little of really important new matter in the seven enormous quarto volumes which he has devoted to the "Acts and Monuments of the Council of Trent;" and even where individual historians have supplied new fragments of information, the disregard which formerly prevailed of the practice, now universal, of publishing the original of the historical document on which the writer relies, has deprived their statements of much of the weight which they would otherwise have possessed.

Indeed, from the moment of the publication of the two great rival histories of Sarpi and Pallavicini, the discussion

may be said to have taken the shape rather of an examination of the personal trustworthiness of these writers, than of a further elucidation of the history which they alike professed to write. Heidegger's vindication of Fra Paolo,* and Reding's counter-vindication of the Jesuit Father,† are the most remarkable of their class, although both, and especially Reding, address themselves much more to the theological than the historical portion of the subject; and neither of them makes the least pretence of adding new historical evidence to that which had been already collected by the original historians whom they respectively vindicate. Nor can more be said of any single writer on the subject, until the appearance of Ranke's well-known *History of the Popes*, which, although it rather points to the original sources of evidence, than professes to exhaust them, yet, with all its prejudices, contains a larger amount of valuable original information connected with the history of the council, founded on the personal resources of the writer, than is to be found in the united gleanings of all the writers on the subject from the days of Pallavicini downwards.

The last twenty years, however, have been marked by a revival of the interest which the first controversy had created. The spirit of historical enquiry has gradually grown in activity, and in Germany the approach of the third centenary commemoration of the celebration of the council (1845) appears to have awakened the special attention of the theological public, to the importance of the great event which they were about to commemorate. We have before us at this moment several German works, which professedly had their origin in this commemoration. In England, the same effect seems to have been brought about as the natural result of the Catholic tendencies of the time, and of the desire to obtain accurate information as to the history and doctrines of the Church which they engendered. A history of the council, in a strongly anti-Catholic and anti-Roman spirit, was published in the year 1834, by the Rev. Joseph Mendham. Two several translations, both of the *Canons and Decrees of the Coun-*

* Under the quaint title, *Tumulus Concilii Tridentini*, 2 vols. 4to. Zurich, 1690.

† *Oecumenici Concilii Tridentini Veritas inextincta*. 4 vols. folio.

cil, and of its *Catechism*, have since appeared, one of Catholic, the other of Protestant origin. The author of one of these translations of the *Canons and Decrees*, Mr. Waterworth, has prefixed a very concise, but clear and comprehensive, *Memoir*, vindicating the Council on all the important points of the controversy; and, as an evidence that the spirit has not yet subsided, we need but refer to the translation of M. Bungener's more ambitious volume, which has been thought of sufficient importance to be reproduced in England, in concert with the author. Nevertheless, a really critical history of the great assembly is still felt by all, both friends and enemies, to be a grave desideratum in English theological literature.

There is not one, indeed, among the councils of the Church, the history of which is so important for the science of theology, as that of Trent. Other councils had to deal with particular doctrines, or heads of doctrines. The deliberations of the first four councils were confined exclusively to the four great heresies on the Trinity and Incarnation,—the Arian, the Macedonian, the Nestorian, and the Eutychian. It was so with the sixth and seventh councils, which condemned the Monothelite and Iconoclast errors. And the mediæval councils (with the exception of that of Florence) can hardly be said to have been dogmatical councils at all, in the strict sense of that phrase. But the fathers of Trent met together at a time when the name of heresy was Legion; when the whole fabric of belief appeared to have given way; when faith seemed resolved anew into first elements; and, amid the crash of contending systems, theology had become a very chaos of scepticism and unbelief. It was their task to reduce this chaos anew to order; to settle its turbid waters, and bid the dry land appear once more; to separate the waters from the waters, and place the eternal firmament of faith between them. Nor was their task retrospective only. The future was equally to be their care. They had to adjust, as if for ever, the boundaries of belief; to fix the respective spheres of faith and of opinion; to draw, with authoritative hand, the mysterious line at which Reason must relinquish her functions, within which speculation is free as air, but beyond whose sacred verge it must not spread its adventurous wing,—never, in the history of the human mind, is there found an undertaking, at once so gigantic in its grasp, or so awful in its consequences.

And it is evident that all this was felt from the very commencement. The importance of a detailed history of even the most minute circumstances connected with such a council was well understood. Many individuals appear, even during the time of its actual sittings, to have contemplated the undertaking; and besides the journals of the congregations and sessions, kept by the officials of the council, many private narratives of its proceedings were compiled during its three several stages. The Venetian ambassador, Niccolo da Ponte, and Antonio Milledoni, Secretary of the council of Ten of the same republic, have both left complete, or nearly complete, histories of the entire council. Angelo Massanelli composed a similar history of the first period of its sittings; and Astolfo Servanzio di San Severino, as well as Gabriele Paleotto, (whose work is named last in our list) both drew up journals of the proceedings of the last period, under Pius IV. But these, and probably many others, seem to have been deterred, by the very magnitude of the task, from carrying out the design of publication; and, except in the form of posthumous works, no contemporary history of the council was ever given to the world.

The works of these writers, however, were not entirely lost. They have served as the groundwork for those who seriously undertook to write the history of the council.

Among these, it is hardly too much to say that the two first historians of the council, Sarpi and Pallavicini, were in possession of a larger share of the really important materials for the elucidation of the subject than any single writer who had succeeded them. How far they, or either of them, took advantage of these materials is a different question which we shall consider hereafter; but taking them, as they undoubtedly are, as the representatives, the one of the papal, the other of the anti-papal party, we may truly say, that each had at his disposal all the records which were within the control of the great parties which they respectively represented. To Pallavicini were thrown open the store-house of the Vatican, the archives of the great papal families at Rome, the records of the religious orders, and the varied and wide-spread sources of information which lay at the command of the influential society to which he belonged. Sarpi had a no less zealous auxiliary in the ambitious Republic which he served—at that time in active and angry collision with Rome, and the centre of all those

intrigues in contravention of the papal authority of which the closing years of the sixteenth century were so prolific. Had these two historians, therefore, printed their respective authorities, they would have left little to be desired as regards the original materials; or, at least, it would only have remained to fill up from casual and extraneous sources a few gaps in the collection. But unfortunately they have not done so. Sarpi hardly ever produces the original documents. He seldom cites the authorities on which he relies; and, although he appeals in general terms to a host of such authorities; he often omits the precaution of even enumerating their names. Pallavicini is far more satisfactory in this particular, but still, his work, in its present form, does not fully follow out the modern idea of a critically historical method. He seldom fails, not merely to quote the writer on whose authority his statement rests, but to indicate in detail, with date and circumstances, the particular letter, report, dispatch, or other paper, to which he appeals; and, generally speaking, he adds the place where the paper in question is preserved. But he often fails, nevertheless, to distinguish with sufficient distinctness, between the cases in which he literally transcribes his authority, and those in which he condenses, paraphrases, transposes, or otherwise accommodates to his own requirements the words of the authority. Now, passing by for the present all consideration of a writer's trustworthiness in the liberties which he thus permits himself, it is plain that the very uncertainty which this method must produce, has a tendency to unsettle that full spirit of reliance with which readers are prepared to accept a statement, when it is confirmed by the exact and literal attestation which is implied in the citation of the actual language of the authority. The observation, however, applies to the case of Pallavicini in a far minor degree than to that of his rival, who does not even name his authorities, and who affords us no clue whereby to trace and to test the statements he puts forward. Even the most bigoted enemies of the Council of Trent admit Pallavicini's authority as infinitely preferable to that of Sarpi. But nevertheless, it cannot but be felt that the question of personal trustworthiness enters largely, even in his case, into the consideration of the amount of credit with which we are to accept his digest of the materials which he has employed.

And hence, before accepting as reliable historical mate-

rials, the authorities of these rival historians, the most important preliminary question arises for adjustment, viz. what is the personal trustworthiness of each, and, still more to which of the two, in a case of collision, the preponderance of credit should be assigned by an impartial critic. We have already seen that, in the earlier period of the historical enquiry, this was the form which the controversy assumed; and it is hardly less observable in the revival which has taken place in later years. The most interesting sections in the portion of Ranke's History of the Popes, devoted to the Council of Trent, are those which contain his comparative criticism of Sarpi and Pallavicini; and the valuable work of Brischar, a young German Catholic divine of great promise, which stands sixth upon our list, and extends to nearly seven hundred octavo pages, is entirely devoted to the same fundamental enquiry. In truth, so fully have they, or rather so fully has Pallavicini, exhausted the sources of authority upon all the really important questions, and especially on all which regard the doctrinal discussions of the council, that it is almost exclusively upon this point the history must always turn.

The personal history and character of these celebrated men form a very important ingredient in the estimate of their respective credibility.

Paolo Sarpi was born at Venice, in 1552. From boyhood he was distinguished for ability, energy of character, and indefatigable application; so that, having entered the Servite order at a very early age, he rose rapidly through the several stages of monastic preferment, and, at the unprecedentedly early age of twenty-six, was chosen provincial of the order. His acquirements, however, were far from being limited to the strictly professional studies of his state in life. In the most abstruse and difficult departments of mathematics—in the newest theories of physical science, (in which more than one important discovery is ascribed to him)—in the nicest subtleties of that metaphysical speculation which was then becoming popular;—he was well-known as an active and accomplished proficient; and the friendly intercourse which he maintained with the celebrated physiologist, Aquapendente, (to whom the Italians, with much probability, attribute the discovery of the circulation of the blood,) with his great contemporary, Porta, with the accomplished Contarini, and his gifted friend, Morone, would, in itself, even if they had not, one and all, left behind their

attestations of his singular merit, stamp him as a man of far more than ordinary powers. Nevertheless, with all his gifts of mind, Sarpi was far from an amiable man. Silent, reserved, morose, and vindictive, he was admired rather than loved; he was the partizan and ally, rather than the friend, of those with whom he associated; and the spirit which he evinced in the relations of social intercourse, exercised an influence which it is impossible to overlook on the events of his public life, and has left very marked traces in his literary remains, especially in the most celebrated of them, his *History of the Council of Trent*. Sarpi was essentially a partisan. It is impossible to read a single page of his work without feeling that he was. It is said of him by Ranke, that he "cherished as a passion—perhaps the only passion of his life," a decided and implacable hatred to the temporal authority of the pope. The feeling has been ascribed by his adversaries to the refusal of a bishopric to which he had been presented, and Ranke does not discredit the conjecture. But it matters little as regards the question of his trustworthiness what was the origin of the feeling: the fact cannot be overlooked or denied: he was a thorough hater of the papacy, an unsparing censor of its acts, its motives, its opinions, and an active and indefatigable co-operator in every scheme for its humiliation or its overthrow. These natural or acquired tendencies, too, were fostered and developed by the position occupied by his native republic, towards the See of Rome. The memorable collision which took place between Venice and Rome, in the year 1606, called out all Sarpi's activity, and all the violence of his principles. It is mainly to his influence, and that of his associates, that the attitude assumed by the Venetians in disregarding the papal interdict, and the long train of resistance and retaliation which ensued, are to be attributed. His writings, both polemical and popular, were the mainstay of the movement. He was the centre and the soul of the anti-papal party in Venice; the director of its ramifications in France, where he maintained an animated correspondence with the well-known Richer; and even the originator, or at least the chief agent, of those intrigues with the Protestant party in Geneva, in France, and even in England, through the instrumentality of the celebrated Bedel, (afterwards bishop of Kilmore, then chaplain of the British embassy in Venice,)

by which it was sought to organize and strengthen the general league against Rome.

It was in the very height of this contest that the History of the Council of Trent was planned, and in great part executed. That a man of Sarpi's temperament, and especially in such circumstances, could be other than a partisan, is a moral impossibility. The circumstances in which the history was written prepare us, as a matter of course, for the fact which every page of it betrays; that its first and last object, the undeviating purpose of its every line, is the depreciation of the popes, of the papacy, of its defenders, and of all who are disposed to respect or obey its influence.

But it may be supposed, and it is commonly assumed by Protestants, that the Catholic element in Sarpi's mind would counterpoise the anti-papal spirit which is so unmistakeable; and that, at least in all that does not directly affect papal interests or papal views, in all that concerns the great general truths of Catholicity, we shall find him an impartial and perhaps a favourable witness. Alas, there is but too much reason to believe that in Fra Paolo's case, as in that of most other disaffected subjects of Rome, the disaffection to the papacy was but one of the forms of a thoroughly uncatholic mind. Ranke, in discussing the opinion that Fra Paolo was in secret a Protestant, gives it as his own conjecture, that his religion "was of a kind often embraced in those days, especially by men devoted to natural science, a mode of opinion shackled by none of the existing forms of doctrine, dissentient and speculative, but neither accurately defined nor fully worked out." And what Ranke conjectures, is but too well evinced by portions of his own correspondence, as well as by the testimonies of his intimate associates. He did not hesitate to avow his earnest hope for the progress of the reformed opinions in Italy. "I should be delighted," he wrote, in 1611, "to witness the advance of the Reformation, for it would tend to advance the interests of mankind." He expressed, in another letter, his deep anxiety about the condition of the Huguenot party in France, "being convinced," he adds, "that this would lead to the introduction of the Gospel into Italy." The testimony of the celebrated Calvinist minister, Diodati,*

* Cited with many other interesting evidences by Brischar I., p. 10.

author of the well-known Italian translation of the bible, places beyond all doubt the fact of Fra Paolo's complicity in the design for, as it was called, *evangelizing* Italy;—although he had discovered the real sentiments of his associate, and declares him a thorough-going Latitudinarian, “who does not believe that any formal creed is necessary, inasmuch that God sees the heart and the disposition.” The same secret tendencies are attested not only of Sarpi, but also of his friend Fulgentio, by the delegate of Anspach at Venice, Lenk; and there is no doubt that had not the design been defeated by the interference of Henry IV., the preliminaries of a union of this dangerous party in Venice with the Protestant malcontents of Germany and France, were fully mature for execution.

The antipathies of Fra Paolo, therefore, were not confined to the court of Rome, or even to the general principles of the papal system, but extended to all the details of the Catholic doctrine, and to all that was at variance with the principles of the Reformation, which he so earnestly desired to see introduced into Italy. It was under the inspiration of this double feeling, and with a direct view to the furtherance of these objects, that his history was compiled. With this understood object, it enlisted the assistance and sympathy of every hidden or avowed friend of the Reformation. In this expectation it was welcomed by every enemy of Rome and of the Church. What but the knowledge of its true object and bearing could have secured for it the zealous support of Antonio de Dominis, the apostate bishop of Spalatro? Could it have aspired, on other terms, to the formal patronage of James I. of England, to whom, “*as a second Moses*,” it was dedicated? Indeed, the very title cast off all pretence of disguise. Whatever may be said of want of faith in other particulars, at all events the book did not appear under false colours; for it came forth openly, not as an indifferent and unbiassed history of the Council, but with the avowed purpose of exposing “the arts employed by the Roman court to prevent the elucidation of true doctrine, and the effectual reformation of the papacy in the Church.”

And hence almost the only authority whom Sarpi names, is the notorious Lutheran partisan, Sleidan. Hence, too, the work was first published under the protec-

tion of Protestant England, and the shelter of an assumed name. It is true that the well-known anagrammatic pseudonym *Pietro Soave Polano* was but a thin disguise for the name, Paolo Sarpi Veneto, which indeed the initiated required no key in order to recognise; but the bare fact of disguise itself was not without its significance, and it is worthy of further remark that the disguise was never formally cast aside. Although the remains of his correspondence, and even a MS., with corrections in his hand, still preserved, place it beyond all doubt, Fra Paolo Sarpi never, during his life, admitted the authorship of the history.

It is not attempted to be denied, therefore, that Sarpi was a thorough partisan. Ranke,* it is true, contends for his having occupied, as regards the Council, a position, "apart on the whole, from the two opposite camps, between which the whole world was divided." But the distinction which Ranke attempts to make between the party of the Pope and the party of the Council is, in Sarpi's case, utterly untenable. That there existed at the time what Ranke calls "a Catholic opposition to the Pope;"—attached in the main to all the doctrines of the Church, cheerfully recognising all the essential privileges of the papacy, while they opposed its state policy;—it is impossible to deny. That Sarpi attached himself to this party, that he gladly availed himself of its assistance, *as far as it reached*, is equally certain. But that he rested where this party stopped short; that his views and opinions on the leading doctrines of Catholicity coincided with theirs, it would be most untrue and most disingenuous to assert. The few extracts from his correspondence, which our limits have warranted us in alluding to, rather than introducing, make it but too plain that Sarpi was a thorough-going antagonist of the entire Catholic system; it is equally apparent in almost every chapter of the doctrinal portions of his work; and the sneering, satirical, and often profane language, in which he relates the discussions upon the most sacred topics, lend but too fatal a probability to the conjecture of Ranke himself, that he was no friend to positive belief in any of its forms, and that in his case, as in almost all similar ones, the general scepticism of indifference assumed the special form of antipathy to the faith, (or as he would

* History of the Popes, p. 369. [Kelley's translation.]

deem it, the credulity,) which is the characteristic of the Catholic mind.

Sarpi's partisanship, therefore, extended far beyond that general hostility to the popes, and to the influence which they exercised in the council through their legates, which Ranke describes as the master-passion of his life. We need hardly add that a partizan of Sarpi's temperament could not be other than a passionate and uncompromising one. Ranke avows that "his narrative is coloured by his own cast of opinion,—his systematic opposition, dislike, or hatred to the court of Rome;"* that "his work is disparaging, condemnatory, and hostile,"† that "his remarks are all steeped in gall and bitterness;"‡ and, with a writer whose principal materials were inedited documents, verbal statements of interested parties, and other sources of information withdrawn from those checks against misrepresentation or abuse, to which more accessible materials are subject, it is plain that partizanship such as Sarpi's stands in close alliance with unscrupulousness and dishonesty. It is scarcely necessary to follow Pallavicini's step-by-step criticism of the use which his ingenious antagonist has made of his materials, in order to see how little reliance is to be placed on his unsupported statement. The few examples which Ranke has put together in his brief and popular criticism will satisfy any impartial reader that, for the uses of the critical historian, the records, correspondence, reports, and other papers on which Sarpi professes to have compiled his history, are, as they are found in his pages, utterly valueless. Decked out as they may be in all the charms of wit, and the graces of style, they are yet hollow and untrustworthy—

"The trail of the serpent is over them all."

But it is impossible, nevertheless, to deny to Sarpi's history the character of great ability, liveliness, and elegance of style. Few publications have ever created a more universal sensation. The very boldness of its tone, the caustic severity with which it assailed the highest dignities and most venerated characters in the church, excited curiosity, even where it provoked indignation. The earliest attempts, too, at a reply upon the Catholic side, (the chief of which was that of Scipio Henrici,) were so far below

* *Ibid.* p. 371. † p. 373. ‡ 370.

Sarpi's work in ability, in minuteness, and above all, in wit and cleverness, as to increase rather than detract from his unenviable reputation. The task of refutation was at last committed to the Jesuits. It was first entrusted to a distinguished member of the Society, Terenzio Alciati, who was Prefect of Studies in the Roman College. It was to him that the great labour of preparation fell—the collection, collation, and comparison of documents, for which purpose the fullest facilities were allowed him. But death interrupted his labours before he had proceeded far with the task of digesting and arranging these materials; and the duty was at once devolved upon the well-known writer to whom we owe what still is the classic history of the council.

Sforza Pallavicini was a member of the princely house of that name. He was born at Rome, in 1607. Although, as the eldest son, he would have succeeded to all the honours of his family, he devoted himself, from a very early age, to the ecclesiastical state. His youthful career was full of distinction. He held in succession several important offices, both civil and ecclesiastical; but he soon withdrew altogether from the career of preferment, and, after resigning his offices, and making over to his younger brother the rank and fortune to which his birth entitled him, he entered the Society of the Jesuits in his thirty-first year. His career in the society was as distinguished as had been his earlier life. He was appointed confessor to the Pope Alexander VIII., and, in 1657, was named cardinal;—a dignity, however, which he twice declined, and which he did not accept till, in 1659, he was deprived of the power of further refusal, by the express order of the Roman Pontiff. His death, in 1667, was a most holy and edifying one.

To the composition of his great work he devoted nearly twenty years of his life. The multitude of authorities, printed and MS., which he consulted, can only be fully estimated by a careful perusal of the work, especially on any of the controverted facts of the history; but even a glance at the footnotes may satisfy the most cursory enquirer of the enormous labour and research expended on its preparation. His plan, in many respects, is necessarily dry and uninteresting. Proposing to himself one main and leading object, the refutation of Sarpi, he has often sacrificed to this, the order, elegance, and interest of his narrative. But, as

a critical examination of Sarpi, it is, after its own manner, complete; and even those who cast suspicion on the author's perfect truthfulness, admit the frequent success of his strictures upon the statements of his slippery predecessor. He has given at the end of each volume a catalogue of the leading errors and falsehoods which he professes to have exposed and refuted. They amount in the whole, to nearly four hundred: and although some of these are, in a doctrinal point of view, unessential, and even sometimes without any vital bearing on the really important details of the history, yet, even where they are the least important, the frequency of their occurrence, the haste and carelessness which they exhibit, and the habitually inaccurate character which they betray, tell with terrible effect against the general credibility of the writer.

A large proportion of these errors, however, betray a more dangerous and dishonouring habit of mind, than carelessness and haste; and many of them cannot possibly escape the imputation of wilful and deliberate perversion, falsification or suppression of the truth. Faithful to the one guiding view of the entire history, the whole scheme of Sarpi's narrative is so managed, the facts and incidents are so interwoven, the motives and conduct of the agents are so coloured, as to present all to the reader as one vast, complicated, but yet ingenious and skilfully contrived web of intrigue and craft, radiating from one hated centre, Rome. For this purpose, in the writer's mind, every event introduced into the narrative, from Luther's first appeal to a general council, to Pius the Fifth's Bull of confirmation at the close of its fitful and often interrupted proceedings, has a clear and unmistakeable application. To this they all are made to bend, even though it be at the sacrifice of every principle of historical justice. Spurious or doubtful documents are called into use. Genuine documents are falsified, in order to establish the existence of some dishonourable scheme. Dates are altered so as to eke out the evidence of some alleged intrigue. Motives are unhesitatingly ascribed without the slightest pretence of evidence to support the imputation. Numbers are tampered with at pleasure. The opinions and votes of individuals are misrepresented, or ascribed to corrupt and dishonouring influences. In a word, every art of misrepresentation—false colouring, calumny, and even direct falsehood—is unscrupulously employed. If the legates, in

the earlier and less fully attended sessions of the council, wrote to the Pope, to beg a further attendance of "*bishops of distinguished character and dispassionate views*," their letter is distorted into a request for a reinforcement of the Pope's "*faithful and loyal Italians*."* If they raise the question, whether the votes shall be taken individually, or by nations, they are made without a shadow of truth, to advise the former, in order to secure the preponderance of the "same loyal and devoted party" in the council.† The distinction between this Italian party and the other members of the council is ostentatiously put forward in every debate. They are made to act as a separate party on every possible occasion, even when (as in the celebrated debate on the introduction of the well-known *representative clause*), Spaniards, French, and Germans,* acted in accordance with Italians, without the least distinction of party. Craft and intrigue are discovered everywhere. The most simple acts are attributed to a scheme. If a bishop falls sick, it is in order to avoid attending some embarrassing debate.§ The Popes are uniformly represented as making subserviency to their views, especially on the great questions of papal privilege, the passport to favour and promotion, and as visiting with disflavour and severity every act of opposition, however honourably offered. Repeated instances of false allegations in this particular are exposed by Pallavicini—that of Olivo, secretary of the Cardinal Bishop of Mantua, of Giustiniani, General of the Dominicans of Sfondrati, Bishop of Cremona, and many others. Unfair representations of the relative numbers of the conflicting parties in the council, too, form a large item in the catalogue of Sarpi's errors, exposed by Pallavicini; as on the question of the divine obligation of residence; on the various propositions connected with the restoration of the use of the chalice to the laity, on the important doctrinal point, whether our Lord's celebration of the Last Supper was a sacrificial act. The last is the most serious of all. He represents that no less than *twenty-three* bishops voted in the negative, whereas the real number of dissentients was but *two*, the Archbishop of Granada, and the Bishop

* See Pallavicini, vi. 1. vol. ii. p. 80.

† Ibid p. 95.

‡ Id. vi. 5. vol. ii. 28.

§ As the bishop of Chioggia, vii. 4. ii. 161. and Card. Osio. xxiii.

of Veglia;* and the opposition even of these did not regard the question, whether the action of Christ was a sacrifice, but whether on that occasion he created the apostles priests, for the oblation of the same sacrifice.† Above all, however, it is in his strictures upon the conduct of the Popes with reference to the council and its deliberations, that Sarpi's fierce and indiscriminate injustice is most glaring. From the beginning to the end of his history, there is hardly a single recognition of upright or honourable motives on the part of any of the Popes who took a part in its convocation or its guidance—nothing is admitted to have been done from the motive of zeal for the Church, for God's honour, or the interests of truth. All is set down to corrupt and selfish ambition. The pope never cordially abandons an abuse where they have proved profitable. He may seem to yield to the instance of others; but, where his own corrupt views are at stake, obstacles are secretly thrown in the way, delays are insidiously interposed, opposition is covertly fostered; and the public, meanwhile, are amused by specious promises, which it is intended to forget as soon as circumstances shall make the oblivion possible or safe. The utter falsehood of many of these imputations, Pallavicini has triumphantly shown; and the reckless malignity with which imputations, difficult to be disproved, are lavished upon the popes and their representatives, is exposed with great success in almost every book of the history.

But we should easily forget the limits of a sketch like the present, if we permitted ourselves to be seduced into their details, curious and instructive as they would be. We have alluded to them rather as illustrating the nature of Pallavicini's plan, and as explaining the less popular character of his history, than that of his lively and unscrupulous adversary. Few refutations or replies have ever been popular; and the few which have ever attained any degree of popularity, have attained it by departing from what should be the great characteristic of a really satisfactory refutation—closeness to the original which they undertake to refute. Of Pallavicini, certainly, this cannot be

* V. p. 283.

† This is admitted even by Courayer, in his translation of Fra Paolo. The details are given in the Acts of the Council, by Paleotto.

said. Fully one-third of his entire work is devoted to strictures on Fra Paolo; and it cannot be denied that he occasionally over-refines; and that, in the multitude of errors which he detects and exposes, there are many whose exposure scarcely repays the pains. As a *popular* history of the council, therefore, it never has been, and never can be, in any degree successful. And although for the student, whether of the history or of the theology of the Tridentine decrees, it is, and must ever remain, the great storehouse of information; yet the inquiry often involves much labour and perplexity, from the prolixity and discursiveness into which the writer is occasionally betrayed by the very necessity of following the capricious footsteps of his adversary. Indeed, Pallavicini's History of the Council, is best and most satisfactorily studied through the medium of an abridgment, although, of course, for the really important discussions, the original must always be indispensable.*

The question of Pallavicini's trustworthiness is too vast to be opened here. To determine it satisfactorily, it would be necessary to pass in review the whole of that enormous mass of records from which his work is compiled. The question, however, may be regarded as sufficiently settled. On the one hand, his truthfulness has never been successfully impeached. He records, without disguise, occurrences which, humanly speaking, reflect discredit on the assembly. The squabbles of the fathers are related, often with ludicrous circumstantiality;—their party jealousies, and those petty details of debate, which take so much from the grandeur and effect of a great deliberative assembly. In a word, Pallavicini places Trent before us in its weakness, as well as in its strength. In his conflicts with Sarpi, even Courayer has frequently admitted that justice lay on his side; the two or three trifling criticisms of Ranke tend, we must say, to strengthen the general impression of the fairness and impartiality of the work; and, in his comparative criticism of the two rivals, even Ranke is forced to bear an honourable testimony in his favour.

* An excellent compendium, following, in the main, the order of the work itself, is that of Morelli, in one quarto volume. The edition of the work itself, published by the celebrated Francesantonio Zaccaria, (five vols. 4to.: Faenza, 1795), contains many valuable annotations.

On the other hand, the truthfulness of Pallavicini's work has received, from time to time, on many points, and especially in those where truthfulness is most meritorious because fraud is most easy—when the authorities are exclusively private MS.—most striking and important corroboration. Many of the documents from which Pallavicini compiled his work have since been published, and all are found to bear out, in a very remarkable way, the statements for which he referred to them. We may allude to Paleotto's Acts of the Council, which are Pallavicini's great authority for the sessions of the third period, from the seventeenth to the twenty-fifth. The recent edition of these acts by Mr. Mendham, and its coincidence with Pallavicini in so much of the Council's acts as it contains in common with him, may be confidently pointed to as a confirmation of the integrity, the carefulness, and the ingenuous openness of the whole compilation.

We have left ourselves small space to run through the list of those who have come after the two great rival historians. Nor, indeed, for the most part, will they require much observation. We have already spoken of the minor critics who have entered the list in defence of one or other of these great champions. Of these, it can hardly be said that any one has added materially to our knowledge of the history. Heidegger, on the Lutheran side, and Reding on the Catholic, are by many degrees the most important of those who appeared early in the controversy. Both these, we have already said, applied themselves rather to the doctrinal than the historical accuracy of their respective champions; and both, for so much of the history as they have comprised, seem rather to assume, than to vindicate or confirm, the truth of the statements made by the historians of their respective parties. Of Reding, especially, this is true to a most disappointing extent. We well remember the blank despair with which we turned over page after page, and chapter after chapter, of his four massive volumes, in the vain search for new facts and evidence, or even for a more striking and satisfactory array of those with which Pallavicini's work had already supplied us. But in vain. He proceeds from first to last on the assumption of the unquestioned veracity of his original.

It is not so with Raynaldi in his continuation of Baronius. Perhaps it can hardly be said to contain much new material. Drawing his facts from the same great

storehouse, the authors of the Vatican, he has in most cases but repeated or condensed Pallavicini; but, in some instances, the documents to which Pallavicini only refers, are printed at length in Raynaldi's *Annals*, and the narrative is generally clear, condensed, and orderly.

We would gladly dwell longer, if space permitted, upon another Catholic historian of the Council; although he makes no pretension to the character of originality, either of matter or of views—the learned, and thoroughly right-minded Noel Alexandre. Those who are acquainted with the masterly Dissertations with which his *History of the Church* is interspersed, and who have learned to appreciate the profound and various learning, the discriminative critical skill, the simple and natural method, and, above, all, the cool impartiality, which distinguish them all, will best understand his peculiar fitness for the task of compiling the history of the great Council. His profound theological learning prepared him in an especial manner for the history of the lengthened and delicate controversies which marked its proceedings. The defect which is discoverable in the other portions of his history—meagreness and want of interest in the narrative—disappears almost entirely here. Relying, it is true, mainly on Pallavicini for his facts, he yet adds strength to Pallavicini's statements by his own singularly happy method in arranging and marshalling the authorities and circumstances bearing upon any doubtful controverted issue. It is impossible not to regret, in reading the admirable summary of the narrative, which alone the limits of his plan permitted, that circumstances did not allow him to execute, what was earnestly desired by many of his contemporaries, a distinct and independent history of the Council. For him the task would have been an easy one. With the materials almost all ready collected to his hand;—with the incalculable advantage of such a work as Pallavicini's before him;—with the further advantage of the light already thrown, by collision of authorities, on every doubtful point;—with abundant means of testing by further research the real truth of every such point still under controversy;—and, above all, with his own all but intuitive faculty of discovering historical truth, sharpened and perfected by his long preparatory labours in the compilation of his masterly work on the general history of the Church;—it is hard to dissent from the regret more than once expressed, that he did not, even

at the cost of leaving his great work incomplete, address himself to the history of Trent as a separate task. Among the literary regrets which occasionally force themselves upon us in looking over the vast field of work still undone, there is none more vivid and more sincere, than that which we feel when we think what such a work as Noel Alexandre's history of the Council of Trent must have been.

Our business, however is not with the general historians of the Church, but with the special writers on the Council of Trent. We must content ourselves with a very brief notice of the collections of documents connected with the history. Of the collection of Labbe and Hardouin, we can mention but the name; nor can we afford much more space to the voluminous work of Le Plat, the well-known *Acta et Monumenta Concilii Tridentini*. It is far from realising the expectations which its vast size and pretentious character would lead one to form. The seven massive quarto volumes of which it consists, in reality add but little of *original* matter to what had already been accessible in other forms; and the effects of the extreme Gallican, and more than Gallican spirit which pervades it, are often, but too apparent, in the selection of these materials. Still, Le Plat's collection, as a whole, is extremely important; and, for a critical investigation of the history of the Council, is absolutely indispensable.

It would seem as though, upon the Catholic side, the work of Pallavicini was regarded as final. With the exception of one or two avowed abridgments of it, and of an occasional vindication of it from some special attack, the character of the Council has been left to rest entirely upon his vindication. And although, within the last quarter of a century, the subject has received a considerable share of attention, especially in Germany; yet nothing deserving the name of a critical history has yet been attempted. Mr. Waterworth's memoir, prefixed to his translation, is by far the most valuable that has yet appeared. There is hardly an important controversy, the results of which are not briefly but yet fully stated, and the narrative, though short, is yet most comprehensive. His work, in short, is a most accurate, solid, and interesting summary. But yet it is, after all, only a summary of the history. The work of Göshl, whose title is recited at the head of these pages, makes no pretension to a critical character. The Memoir

of Rutjes is but a popular sketch, hastily prepared for the tercentenary commemoration; and that of Wessenberg, besides being far from Catholic, either in its spirit or its language, is but a portion of a larger work on the history of all the Councils of the period before and immediately following the Reformation.

Indeed, the most valuable Catholic contribution to the history, in a critical point of view, is a work not directly treating of the Council of Trent, but yet embodying almost all the events of importance which bear thereupon, and developing with great accuracy, and with the grasp of a master-mind, all the relations of the Church of the sixteenth century, not alone to the Empire, and to the Catholic powers generally, but also to the several parties in each, whatever may have been their various shades of difference. We allude to the "Ferdinand I." of the lamented Bucholz; a work, the extraordinary merit of which, even in spite of some drawbacks into which it would be out of place to enter here, make us regard the early demise of the gifted author as one of the greatest losses which historical science in Germany has had to lament for a long series of years.

It remains to say a few words of what has been done on the opposite side.

Perhaps it may appear strange that we should place Dupin* at the head of the opposition list. But, unfortunately his claim to that position is too clear to be contested for a moment. What he has written, indeed, is not sufficiently important to deserve a separate notice; but, such as it is, there is no possibility of mistaking either its spirit or its tone. Even Salig, the most voluminous and most learned of the later Protestant historians of Trent, avows that "he has found Dupin, brief, often halting and imperfect, many times in error, adhering to Sarpi, even where he has been criticised and corrected by Pallavicini; and, finally, devoting an unfair amount of attention to the affairs of France."†

Courayer can hardly be called a historian of the Council of Trent. But his translation of Sarpi's history has, in some respects, more title to the reputation of originality than many professedly original compositions. The anno-

* In his *Auteurs Ecclesiastiques, du xvi^m Siècle.*

† Vollständige Geschichte des Trienter Concils, 3 vols. 1741-6.

tations with which it is interspersed, are often an attempt to strike the balance of credibility between the conflicting views of the two parties. The reputed opinions of the author might seem to fit him for the impartial performance of such a task. His creed was an attempt at a compromise between Catholicism and Anglicanism;—a sort of anticipated Tractarianism, without that groundwork of hearty enthusiasm, and sincere desire of advancing towards truth, which alone, in the commencement of the Tractarian movement, gave life and reality to that now hollow system. Courayer, however, was too much of a Latitudinarian, to be hearty in the profession of any class of opinions. His mind was essentially of an eclectic temperament, and his annotations on Sarpi are conceived entirely upon these views. As far as they go, they are very often, as regards the mere facts of the history, sufficiently impartial; or, at least, they are a decided improvement upon the original. They point out, also, generally speaking, the sources from which Sarpi derived his information. But they are far from restoring the balance of truth upon the whole. The errors of Sarpi, which they embrace, form but a small proportion of the entire. Even in these, full justice is seldom rendered; and the doctrinal, or polemical portion of the notes, is even more offensive, and yet, if possible, more insidious, than the text on which it professes to comment.

A far more meritorious work, according to its kind, is that of Salig, to which we have already referred. It is in three volumes, and exhibits considerable reflection and research. The author died before its publication, so that it was edited after his death by Baumgarten. But, with a larger amount of learning than his predecessors, Salig is not more exempt from the traditional prejudices of his sect. His history is undisguisedly hostile; and the coarseness of its language, the violence of its invective, the recklessness of its imputations, and the indiscriminating acrimony of its general spirit, sufficiently show that, where cool judgment and impartiality are required, his unsupported authority can deserve but little respect.

A far more impartial and enlightened view of the history is that of the celebrated theologian, Marheineke, in his work on the "*System of Catholicism*."* To some of our readers Marheineke may be known, in his more advanced

* *System des Catholicismus*. 3 Bänden: 1810.

years, by his controversy with the lamented Möhler on the publication of his *Symbolik*. But the tone which he later adopted in this controversy is very different from that of his earlier writings. On the contrary, it would be difficult to find in any other than a Catholic, so calm and unprejudiced an estimate, not merely of the dogmas defined in this great Council, but of the course of events connected with the history of these definitions. And the natural consequence was, that, for a time, the orthodoxy of the writer was held in serious doubt in Protestant Germany; although, unhappily, his later writings have but too unequivocally removed all suspicion of any Catholic tendency.

A memoir of the Council of Trent, professing to be compiled from new and inedited materials, by the Rev. Joseph Mendham, appeared in this country in 1834. We have enumerated it among the books at the head of this article. The author's claim to novelty consisted in his having obtained from Mr. Thorpe, the well-known and enterprising bookseller, a large collection of MSS., bearing on the Council of Trent. These MSS., however, or the originals from which they are copied, (for they are chiefly copies) had already passed under the scrutiny, either of Sarpi or Pallavicini, or both. That of Milledoni, which Mr. Mendham thinks Pallavicini never saw, is in great part incorporated in Sarpi's history.* The still more important work of Paleotto is substantially embodied in Pallavicini's text. Mr. Mendham's ultra-Protestantism, too, and the downright fanaticism of his views on all that regards Rome or Roman affairs, entirely unfitted him for the duties of a historian, even though he had not, by his carelessness, inaccuracy, and haste, drawn upon himself the censure of Ranke, as "not having duly studied the subject."† He has since published the MS. of Paleotto, from which his history had been made. But the work of editing is most carelessly and inaccurately done. Not only is there not the slightest attempt, on the part of the editor, to make the book available for the use of students, by historical or biographical notes, or by any explanatory observations; but even the text is, in many places, all but unintelligible. Even words,

* See Ranke, 371.

† History of the Popes, p. 376.

clauses, whole sentences are repeated, or left incomplete, and without meaning.

We are tempted to notice, also, in connexion with this part of the subject, a publication of the past year, which has received, in the Protestant theological journals, a larger share of commendation than ordinarily falls to the lot of mere translations. We allude to Mr. Buckley's so-called *translation* of the *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*. It has seldom fallen to our lot to meet so reckless and unblushing an example of literal and servile plagiarism than this pretended translation. *It is, without a single alteration deserving of the name, a verbal transcript of Mr. Waterworth's laborious and most accurate version, published but a few years before.* A few words and phrases are occasionally varied, it is true; but, almost invariably, for the mere sake of the appearance of variation; and, almost equally invariably, to the disadvantage of the elegance, the faithfulness, and sometimes even the intelligibility, of the text. It is plain, indeed, that Mr. Buckley never was even at the pains of copying out the translation, but must have actually printed it from the printed copy of Mr. Waterworth's version.

We shall print specimens of each in parallel columns, taken at random. The first is from the Bull of Indiction, in the very first page of the work:

WATERWORTH.

"Paul, bishop, servant of the servants of God, for the future memory hereof. At the beginning of this our pontificate,—which, not for any merits of our own, but of its own great goodness, the providence of Almighty God hath committed unto us,—already perceiving unto what troubled times, and, unto how many embarrassments in almost all our affairs, our pastoral solicitude, and watchfulness were called; we would fain indeed have remedied the evils wherewith the Christian commonwealth had been long afflicted and well nigh overwhelmed; but we too, as men compassed with infirmity,

BUCKLEY.

"Paul, bishop, servant of the servants of God, for the future memory hereof.

"At the beginning of this our Pontificate, which, not on account of our own merits, but of its own great goodness, the Providence of Almighty God hath committed unto us, already perceiving into what *disturbances of the times*, and into how many embarrassments of almost all our affairs, our pastoral care and watchfulness were called: we desired, indeed, to *remedy the evils of the Christian commonwealth*, with which it had long been afflicted, and well nigh overwhelmed; but we also, as men

felt our strength unequal to take upon us so heavy a burthen. For whereas we saw that peace was needful to free and preserve the commonweal from the many impending dangers, we found all replete with enmities and dissensions; and, above all, the (two) princes to whom God has entrusted well nigh the whole direction of events, at enmity with each other. Whereas, we deemed it necessary that there should be *one fold and one shepherd*, for the Lord's flock, in order to maintain the Christian religion in its integrity, and to confirm within us the hope of heavenly things; the unity of the Christian name was rent and well nigh torn asunder by schism, dissensions, heresies.

"Whereas, we could have wished to see the commonwealth safe and guarded against the arms and insidious designs of the Infidels, yet, through our transgressions and the guilt of us all, the wrath of God assuredly hanging over our sins, Rhodes had been lost; Hungary ravaged; war both by land and sea had been contemplated and planned against Italy, Austria, and Illyria; whilst our impious and ruthless enemy, the Turk, was never at rest, and looked upon our mutual enmities and dissensions as his fitting opportunity for carrying out his designs with success."—p. 1, 2.

compassed with infirmity (Heb. V. 2.) perceived that our strength was unequal to take upon us so great a burthen. For whereas we saw that *there was need of peace to deliver* and preserve the commonwealth from the many impending dangers, we found all things replete with enmities and dissensions; above all, the princes, to whom well nigh the whole direction of matters has been intrusted by God, at enmity with each other. Whereas, we deemed it necessary that there should be *one fold and one shepherd* (John X. 16.) for the Lord's flock, in order to *confirm* the integrity of the Christian religion, and the hope of heavenly things within us; the unity of the Christian name was well nigh rent, and torn asunder by schism, dissensions, heresies. Whereas, we could have wished the commonwealth safe, and *defended from* the arms and insidious attacks of the *unfaithful*, yet, through our transgressions, and the guilt of us all,—the wrath of God, *forsooth*, hanging over our sins—Rhodes had been lost; Hungary *harassed*; war both by land and sea had been intended, and planned against Italy, Austria, and Illyria; whilst our impious and ruthless enemy, the Turk, was never at rest, and deemed our *own* mutual enmities and dissensions his fitting opportunity for carrying out his designs with success."—p. 1, 2.

We have printed in Italics the words or phrases in which Mr. Buckley's translation of this passage differs from that of his predecessor. That they amount to a substantial alteration, no one will pretend. Indeed, when they

affect the meaning at all, it is only to its evident detriment. Most of them are variations, for the mere variation sake; and some of them manifestly impair the fitness and significance of the translation. Without troubling ourselves with the trivialities of such a comparison, we shall only advert to the stupid and clumsy substitution of *the unfaithful* for *the Infidels*; the allusion in the Bull evidently being to the menaced invasion of Europe by the Turks, [*Infidelium*] which was one of the motives of the convocation of the Council—an allusion utterly lost by Mr. Buckley's silly attempt at improvement.

When a plagiarism so unblushing is found in the very first page of the work, it may fairly be presumed that, elsewhere, even this pretence of discrepancy is disregarded. The following is found, without the least attempt at selection, and examples equally flagrant may be found by any one, who will take the trouble to open almost any two parallel pages in the translations, from the first to the last session of the Council.

WATERWORTH.

"And wishing, as is just, to impose a restraint in this matter also on printers, who now, without restraint—thinking, that is, that whatsoever they please is allowed them—print, without the licence of ecclesiastical superiors, the said books of sacred Scripture, and the notes and comments upon them of all persons indifferently, with the press oftentimes unnamed, often even fictitious, and what is more grievous still, without the author's name; and also keep for indiscriminate sale books of this kind printed elsewhere; (this Synod) ordains and decrees, that henceforth the sacred Scriptures, and especially the said old and vulgate edition, be printed in the most correct manner possible; and that it shall not be lawful for any one to print, or cause to be printed, any books

BUCKLEY.

"And wishing also, as is just, to impose a restraint in this matter upon printers, who now, without restraint, that is, thinking that whatsoever they please is allowable, print, without the license of ecclesiastical superiors, the said books of sacred Scripture, and the *annotations and expositions* upon them of all persons indifferently, with the press often unnamed, often even fictitious, and, what is more grievous still, without the author's name; and also indiscriminately keep for sale books of this kind printed elsewhere; [this Synod] ordains and decrees, that, henceforth the sacred Scriptures, and especially the aforesaid old and vulgate edition, be printed in the most correct manner possible; and that it shall not be lawful for any one to print, or cause to be

whatever on sacred matters, without the name of the author ; nor to sell them in future, or even to keep them, unless they shall have been first examined, and approved of, by the Ordinary ; under pain of the anathema and fine imposed in a canon of the last Council of Lateran ; and if they be Regulars, besides this examination and approval, they shall be bound to obtain a license also from their own superiors, who shall have examined the books according to the form of their own statutes. As to those who lend or circulate them in manuscript, without their having been first examined and approved of, they shall be subjected to the same penalties as printers ; and they who shall have them in their possession, or shall read them, shall, unless they discover the authors, be themselves regarded as the authors. And the said approbation of books of this kind shall be given in writing ; and for this end it shall appear authentically at the beginning of the book, whether the book be written or printed ; and all this, that is, both the approbation and the examination, shall be done gratis, that so what ought to be approved may be approved, and what ought to be condemned may be condemned.

“ Besides the above, wishing to repress that temerity by which the words and sentences of sacred Scripture are turned and twisted to all sorts of profane uses, to wit, to things scurrilous, fabulous, vain, to flatteries, detractions, superstitions, impious and diabolical incanta-

printed, any books whatever, on sacred matters, without the name of the author ; nor to sell them in future, or even to keep them *by them*, unless they shall have been first examined and approved of by the Ordinary, under pain of the anathema and fine imposed in a canon of the last Council of Lateran. And if they be regulars, besides this *manner* of examination and approval, they shall be bound to obtain a license also from their own superiors, the books having been examined according to the form of their *own* statutes. *But* as to those who lend or circulate them in manuscript, without their having been first examined and approved, they shall be subjected to the same penalties as the printers. And they who shall have them in their possession, or shall read them, shall, unless they discover the authors, be themselves regarded as the authors. And this approbation of books of this kind shall be given in writing, and to this end it shall appear authentically at the beginning of the book, whether the book be written or printed ; and all this, that is, both the approbation and the examination, shall be done gratis, so that *things* to be approved may be approved, and *things* to be condemned may be condemned.

“ After these matters, wishing to repress that temerity by which the words and sentences of sacred Scripture are turned and twisted to all *manner* of profane uses, to wit, to things scurrilous, fabulous, vain, to flatteries, detractions, superstitions, impious

tions, sorceries, and defamatory libels; (the Synod) commands and enjoins, for the doing away with this kind of irreverence and contempt, and that no one may henceforth dare in any way to apply the words of sacred Scripture to these and such like purposes; that all men of this description, profaners and violators of the Word of God, be by the bishops restrained by the penalties of law, and others of their own appointment."—pp. 20 l.

and diabolical incantations, *divinations, casting of lots*, nay, even *hereafter* defamatory libels; [the Synod] commands and enjoins, for the doing away with this kind of irreverence and contempt; and that no one may *hereafter* dare in any manner to apply the words of sacred Scripture to these and such like purposes; that all men of this description, profaners and violators of the Word of God, be restrained by the bishops, by the penalties of law, and of their own appointment."—pp. 20-1.

In the space of the fifty lines of the above extract, the unblushing copyist has not been at the pains to alter a dozen words; and these alterations are either most frivolous, and unimportant, or if deserving of notice at all, certainly not of a commendatory notice. The alteration of the phrase "*keeping by them*," instead of the simple *keeping* of Mr. Waterworth, is unquestionably a change for the worse; the Council's meaning evidently being to prohibit the *keeping for use*, or *for sale*, rather than the mere *storing up* which is implied in Mr. Buckley's version; and the alteration of the consecrated phrases "*notes and comments*," into *annotations and expositions*, is neither warranted by good taste, nor by received usage.*

But the strangest circumstance in this, we must say, disgraceful, case, is, that the offender has the effrontery to allude in his preface to the translation of Mr. Waterworth, and even to speak of it in a tone of affected patronage and condescension. "He is far from seeking" he writes, "to detract from the learning and industry of Mr. Waterworth." On the contrary, he even condescends to confess to have received from Mr. Waterworth's translation, many "*important hints and suggestions!*" But he everywhere

* See for further and equally flagrant examples, Waterworth, p. 30, and Buckley, 29; Waterworth 40, and Buckley 38; Waterworth 50, and Buckley 47; Waterworth 113, and Buckley 104; Waterworth 193—4, and Buckley 176—7; Waterworth 184, and Buckley 168; Waterworth 185, and Buckley 169; and numberless other passages.

implies and asserts that his own is a perfectly distinct and independent translation; and even has the incomprehensible hardihood to declare that his great object has been to produce a "more rigidly literal translation" than that of his predecessor; in pursuance of which intention he has proceeded to copy it, word for word, with hardly the alteration of a single material phrase from the beginning to the end! It is, we trust, without the cognizance of this literary dishonesty, that he has connected the respected names of Mr. Marriott, of Oriel College, and Mr. Spillan, of Trinity College, Dublin, with his pretended translation. We leave him, however, to settle this matter with themselves; not trusting our pen to comment further upon a proceeding so unworthy of the scholarship, not to say the honesty, of the world of letters. It is but just, however, to add, that the publisher of Mr. Buckley's performance has acknowledged the fact of the *adaptation*—of which he was previously not cognisant,—and has done so in a manner satisfactory to Mr. Dolman, whose interests have been invaded, and, no doubt, injured.

There remains but little space for strictures upon the newest contribution to Tridentine history, that of M. Bungener. But in truth it requires but brief notice at our hands. M. Bungener belongs to that superficial and declamatory school of history, of which Michelet and D'Aubigné, each according to his respective lights, are the most familiar representatives in this country. He does not even make pretence of discussing authorities, or settling disputed questions of fact or of opinion. There is not a single solid critical observation in his book, from the first to the last; not a word as to the credibility (even where it has been questioned) of the authorities on which his facts are given; not a word on the genuineness of the documents which he adduces (where he happens to adduce any) in support of his views. As far as he is concerned, we should never know that Sarpi is alleged to have taken some of his materials from a suspected source, or that the authenticity of Vargas's letters to the Bishop of Arras was ever called in question. His reader must be contented to take all for granted on M. Bungener's sole authority. As a historian, he has no ambition beyond that of imparting a dramatic air to his narrative, or arranging his facts and personages in an effective historical picture. As a divine, he never troubles himself to be accurate, either in

understanding correctly the doctrine of his adversaries, or fairly stating the grounds on which it rests. It is enough for him to pour out a witty and sarcastic declamation, or to string together a series of noisy and inflated abuse. We have seldom met, as regards its views of Catholic doctrine, as shallow, as ill-informed, as unfair, and, withal, as fanatical a book. To take the commonest of all the questions which form the subject of popular controversy—that regarding the Pope's infallibility;—will it be believed that a writer of the present day is to be found, either himself so ignorant, or else so recklessly indifferent to his reader's power of judging on his own behalf, as seriously to declare that the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility is "*incontestibly an article of faith, for a great part of the Catholic Church?*"* In the first place, we could not have supposed it possible that any one could be so ignorant of the first principles of the Catholic system as to entertain, even for a moment, the hypothesis that *any doctrine* could be an *article of faith* for a *part*, and not for the *whole*, of the Catholic Church; but in the next place we thought that even the most ignorant knew that this particular doctrine had been a thousand times disclaimed *as an article of faith* by Catholics of every class. M. Bungener, however, goes even further than this. He does not scruple to put forward the old and exploded sophism, which confounds the personal and private infallibility of the Pope, with his official infallibility when acting as the public organ of the Church's teaching. It would be hard to find in the whole range of protestant controversy, an argument betraying either greater ignorance, or more flagrant dishonesty than the following:—

"And who might best multiply these questions, if not those who are brought into immediate contact with Rome, and the popes, and the circle around the popes? It is in Italy, in fact it is at Rome, and in the palace of the popes, that the idea of their infallibility must have had to encounter, it would seem, most opposition. At a distance people see only the head of the Church, the vicar of Jesus Christ. His words never reach them but in august phraseology; he finds no difficulty in gaining and preserving a certain grandeur in the popular imagination. Close at hand, be he ever so respectable as an individual, still he is a mere man; often all that is to be seen is a worn-out old man, a poor shrivelled body, a sinking

* p. 43.

mind, a failing memory, a master, in fine, who has ceased to see, to hear, to think, and who lives only in the persons of his servants. What! you may have seen this old man last night; you may have conversed with him familiarly; you may even have corrected him in a mistake, and contradicted him, as will sometimes happen in all the conversations in the world; he himself may sometimes have admitted that you were in the right, and may have politely said, 'Very true—I was mistaken.' And lo, at the close of this colloquy, he may have dictated some lines on questions which the greatest genius would only study with trembling. Now, these few lines you present to me as infallible and sacred; as a decision which I cannot attack without revolting from God himself. Further, who knows after all whether it be really from him? Who knows but that it may have been you, his counsellor, who suggested, nay, perhaps, who dictated the whole of it? Elsewhere, ministers are responsible, and the prince alone is irresponsible; at Rome in everything not political it is the pope alone who is responsible. A fallible and irresponsible monarch may, without compromising himself, put his signature to what is done in his name; an infallible doctor cannot avoid assuming the responsibility of all that he signs. But those who direct him, those who prepare his decrees, those who put the pen into his hand to sign them; those who can say, 'Such or such an article of faith was made by me;—how can they, unless indeed they believe themselves to be infallible—how can they seriously teach the pope's infallibility! Pallavicini, our historian, was one of the very men who pushed on Innocent X., old and tremulous, to the condemnation of Jansenius. He himself has preserved for us the details of the pope's hesitations. 'When he placed himself,' says he, 'on the brink of the ditch, and measured in thought the space he had to clear; he paused, and could not be made to go farther.' What language! What a comment on our reasonings on the authority of the pope! Ah, however annoying it may be to mix up a charge of bad faith with calm and serious arguments, how can we but feel convinced that the folks at Rome, those who proclaim most loudly the pope's infallibility, are certainly, of all Roman Catholics, those who believe it least, and who can least believe it?"—p. 45-6.

It is the same with M. Bungener's reasoning on every other Catholic doctrine or practice which he calls into controversy. His arguments all betray the same gross ignorance of the very first principles of the doctrines which he undertakes to refute. Could any one, for example, who had even read the most elementary instruction on the nature and efficacy of the sacramental absolution, and of the conditions indispensable for its validity, and even for the very existence of the Sacrament itself, be guilty of such incredible silliness as the following?—

"But unhappily there are many who do not look narrowly enough into the matter to stop in their course, so as to rest on this false middle ground, where there is room at least for a little conscience and piety. They will not go so far as to tell you directly, that once absolved by the priest, it matters not how, they believe themselves pure from all sin; but though they say it not, though, strictly speaking, they may not positively think it, that fatal error is not the less the natural, the direct, and, it must be said, the perfectly logical consequence of the system that has been imposed on them. What is Confession in those countries into which a little true Christianity, and a little good sense, have not by some means or other penetrated? Did paganism, with its impure priests and cheap expiations, ever present anything so unheard of as the brigand who goes from the confessional to his place of ambuscade, tasting all the tranquillity of virtue between the crime he has committed, and that which he meditates committing? And why should he not be tranquil? Of his past crimes he is absolved; only let him take care not to be killed before he has murmured a few prayers imposed on him as penance. Of his future crimes he knows he can be acquitted at the same cost. He never dreams of repentance, still less of amendment of life. Shall we be challenged to cite a book, or a priest, that has taught this? True, these are not things that are written or said. But we, in our turn, defy any one to produce a book, or a priest, able enough to refute that brigand so as to deprive him of his frightful security, without a deep breach on the very doctrine of Confession, the right of absolution, and all their consequences. Everything, to the very title of sacrament, bestowed on penance, concurs to produce these deplorable results. When the priest has said, 'I baptize thee,' the infant is baptized. When he has said in the mass, 'This is my body,' the wafer is changed, infallibly changed into flesh. When he has said, 'I absolve thee,' how can it be, if penance be a sacrament, if these words be pronounced with the same authority as the others, how can it be that there should not be absolution? To refute the brigand who deems himself absolved, well and duly absolved, you must begin by telling him that absolution, in itself, signifies nothing."p. 265—6.

We are tempted to add one other still more extraordinary specimen of theological argumentation, on the subject of the presence of Christ under each species.

"Much has been said, also, in those deliberations, about the danger of leading people to believe that there was a more complete communion under both kinds than under one, an idea contrary to the Church's teaching; especially since the council of Constance, where it had been decreed that the Saviour was fully and entirely present under each kind. This last opinion, too, formed the sub-

ject of a chapter. Nobody contradicted it; but little as they had dived into its depths, how many objections did the council proceed to start! And how prudent was it to omit all explanation—all argument. 'Although our Redeemer, in that last supper, instituted and handed down to his Apostles this sacrament in two kinds, yet it must be confessed that Jesus Christ, whole and entire, and a true sacrament, are taken under either kind only.' Such is the whole. *It must be confessed.* Reasons there are none. And yet we are still, let us remember, in a chapter that treats of doctrine, that is to say, one of those in which, when the council had reasons to produce, it gave them. It felt itself in presence of one of those difficulties which grow larger under examination, and where the bottom deepens in proportion as the eye penetrates into the abyss. Multiplied by this fresh surcharge, all the objections directed against the real presence form so menacing a host that it is not given to all men to contemplate them without trepidation. Let us contemplate a priest engaged in saying mass. You see him put the wafer to his mouth, and you are told, 'It is the body of Jesus Christ. He is there whole and entire under the bread.' A few moments afterwards the priest drinks. 'It is the blood of Jesus Christ,' it is added; 'it is his body also, his body whole and entire.'—Twice entire? Yes. The priest then has eaten it twice? No. He has eaten and drunk nothing more than those of the faithful to whom he has given the host. But it is spiritually, no doubt, that he has eaten and drunk no more than they? Spiritually and materially. These two bodies were the same. Those thousand, those two thousand bodies which you have seen him distribute, were also the same, always the same, and always whole and entire—whole and entire under each kind, whole and entire under each fraction of the kind, for this also is the teaching of the Church, although the council liked better not to say it. This new absurdity has not even the merit of being based, like the real presence, on the words of the institution, 'This is my body, said Christ, which is *broken* for you.' If it be everywhere and always entire, what is made of these last words? We admit that one can hardly stop there. If the wafer is the body of Christ, it would be a hideous and horrible thing to say that it is broken, reduced to pieces, and then eaten member after member. It is clear that the sole way of escape from this abominable consequence, was to declare it always entire. Thus, let an infidel set himself to pound a consecrated wafer, and the Saviour will be present as many times as there are particles in that white dust. Without going so far, make as many suppositions as you please: if they be not all false, if the very principle of them be not absurd,—they will necessarily be all true. A consecrated wafer falls and breaks in two. You had but one body of the Saviour—you gather up two. The Church prescribes you following the whole wafer. When between your teeth you divide it, only one body was given to you; you swallow two. One has a vase full of consecrated

wafers. There are twenty; twenty bodies of Christ. This vase gets a slight shake; some of the wafers are broken; and, behold, the body is there not twenty, but thirty times. Another shake, and it will be there forty times; another.....Enough, enough! Your heart bleeds to find, thanks to the doctors of Rome, so sacrilegious a resemblance between Christ's supper and the tricks of a juggler. 'Pastors,' says the Roman Catechism, 'ought to be very reserved in explaining how the body of Jesus is whole and entire under the smallest part of the kinds.' Yes, indeed, let them be very reserved in explaining it; let them be so above all in thinking of it, for did they set themselves to deduce consequences from it, they would quickly find that they could no longer believe it."—p. 333-4.

In order to settle the question of Mr. Bungener's fitness as a historian of the doctrinal deliberations of the council, we need not go beyond these almost incredible absurdities. We solemnly assure the reader that they are taken, almost at random, from the strictures in which he indulges upon every doctrine introduced into the discussions of the council; on grace and free will, on scripture and tradition, on original sin, the sacraments, the mass, images, invocation of saints, purgatory, and above all, the Blessed Virgin;—there is in all a mixture of ignorance, weakness, and arrogance with fanaticism, and ferocity, which utterly disqualify him either to form a calm reasonable judgment of his own, or to express such a judgment, when borrowed from another, in tolerant or even rational language.

It will readily be believed that the case is even worse as regards the mere history of the council, apart from doctrine. It is all, from the beginning to the end, a series of foregone conclusions. There is not even the pretence of impartiality. Starting from one fundamental idea, viz., that the Church of the Tridentine period was radically and hopelessly corrupt, and that Rome was resolved at all hazards to maintain the old corrupt system in its integrity, or at least so much of it as she was not compelled by absolute necessity to abandon;—every incident, and every character is made to tell in confirmation of this idea. Wherever it is possible to impute a corrupt motive it is imputed. Wherever it is possible to interpret an act or a word unfavourably, it is so interpreted. Popes, legates, bishops, clerks, all alike are criticised, and all condemned, with the same indiscriminating malignity. Of calm philosophic history there is not a single page among the six hundred of which the volume is composed.

Such is the last of our historians of the council of Trent. We need scarcely add our earnest hope that, in the advancing spirit of historical research which distinguishes the literature of the present day, a subject so vast and so important will not much longer be neglected. Much has been done, and lies ready to the hand of an industrious and enlightened compiler. But much still remains to be done. Even the work of verifying the old materials, would in itself imply a long and laborious task. The materials of Sarpi are practically valueless without such verification, and, though many of them are lost, that it is still possible to discover much also that is of great interest, is sufficiently shown by the success of Ranke's labours. The materials of Pallavicini, for the most part, are still safely preserved; and where further comparison is needed, they may be considered within the reach of a properly accredited enquirer. But beyond these old materials there is much, we doubt not, still to be explored. The Imperial Archives of Vienna are still comparatively a new field. The important Correspondence of Charles V., recently made public, first in Vienna, by Baron Hormayr,* and afterwards by Mr. Bradford, although it does not bear upon the subject of the council, will enable us to form a sufficient idea of what may still be expected in the same repository. The Royal Archives of Madrid, too, will well deserve a second exploring expedition; and the success which in late years has attended such gleanings, even when the field was believed to have been long exhausted, may encourage us to hope for still better things, in a comparatively unknown and untried one.

* In the journal entitled "*Archiv für Geographie, Historie, Staats und Kriegskunst.*"

ART. VII.—*A General Introduction to the Sacred Scriptures; in a Series of Dissertations, Critical, Hermeneutical, and Historical.* By the Rev. JOSEPH DIXON, D.D., Professor of Sacred Scripture and Hebrew, in the Royal College of St. Patrick, Maynooth. 2 vols., 8vo., Dublin, Duffy.

WHEN, a few years ago, we commenced a series of articles, in this Review, on Biblical subjects, we ventured to express ourselves as follows:—

“We regret to say that we have not an English Catholic elementary book of biblical introduction...If Dr. Kenrick,” (whose excellent work on the Gospels we were reviewing,) “or any other sound theological scholar, who could sift the chaff from the wheat in modern scriptural writers, would supply the want to which we have alluded, he would confer a lasting advantage on our body.”* It is with sincere pleasure, that we now announce the fulfilment of the wish thus expressed. Dr. Dixon has given us the first Catholic Introduction to scripture, which has appeared in our language, and has performed his task in a manner that reflects high credit on the office which he holds, and the place in which he occupies it. At a moment when Maynooth is a party-word, and a war-cry, when many tongues are being sharpened like swords against it, when its studies, its usefulness, its principles are about to become a mark for the Spooners, and the Drummonds, to aim their hissing shafts at, we are doubly glad to see a work come forth from its lecture-halls, which will prove the falsehood of much hostile declamation, and give evidence, to calm and impartial minds, of the solid, yea, and biblical instruction there delivered. And before proceeding further into the merits of the work before us, let us have indulgence for a few more remarks, upon this topic, the “anti-Maynooth cry.” The time is fast approaching, when it will be raised once more. The sedate Peer will equip himself for the chace, and mount his prancing, high-mettled steed; the graver occupant of what is called the Bench, will forget the dignity of the lawn, and seat himself on his nodding, ambling hack; the gallant General in the lower

* Dublin Review, Vol. xxvii. p. 182.

house, who has long done penance for the sins of his youth, in fly leaves and tracts, will don again, if necessary, his red coat, and vault on his charger, and draw his sword, as if for battle; and the country-squire, taught thus to expiate the iniquities of life, will bestride his own break-neck Bucephalus, (the Bull-head constituency which has mounted him,) and lend his lusty voice, if nothing else, to the heartless and brutal hunt. These will be well seconded, by the yelling pack of unprincipled writers and orators, unkenelled at their master's will, from every corner of the island, from press and pulpit, and hustings, and hall. There is no mercy intended, no generosity to be expected, no justice dreamt of. It is the old cry, "*eradamus de terra viventium*;" "*tolle, tolle! crucifige!*" "*Christianos ad leones!*" "*écrasons l'infame!*" It is not to reform Manooth, it is not to purge it, it is not to improve it, that the chase is up: it is simply to destroy it. No one has even proposed the alternative; the object of a promised investigation is not, like the avowed purpose of the University commissions, to enquire into defects, and amend them. Such a lenient, or sensible course (supposing the ground for any enquiry to exist,) has never entered into the head of any party—Whig, or Tory. It is declared, in terms sufficiently precise, that an investigation is to take place, expressly to get grounds for an indictment; and no middle course is held out: it will, and must be, acquittal or death. What line the distinguished men, that belong to that now noble establishment, will think it right to follow, we know not: neither would it become us, totally unconnected as we are with it, to offer a suggestion. But we may be pardoned, if here we throw out a few hints, which men of common sense and good feeling, and moral principle, may consider worth their attention, in the coming contest.

The grounds of accusation are two. First, the teaching of Maynooth: secondly, the political conduct of the persons educated there. We wish to say a few words on the first.

Mr. Spooner indulged his House with a series of long quotations, from text-books lectured on in that college; involving therein perilous charges, of anti-social, disloyal, and immoral, teaching. "By your fruits you shall know them." Is it not strange, that neither Mr. Spooner in Parliament, nor Dr. Cumming out of it, nor any other

person any where, should have ventured to insinuate a suspicion of immorality against the College? Further still, there have been, for years past, a certain number of students real, or pretended,* from Maynooth, who have unfortunately sold their souls to Satan, and have figured as apostates, on the stages of protestant meetings, "*despu-mantes suas confusiones*"† against their *Alma Mater*: yet they have never presumed to assert, that vice and immorality, the necessary sequels of wicked instruction, prevail within its walls.

Compare this state of things with the nurseries of the Anglican ministry; and say which way virtuous indignation should turn itself. Who has ever heard of the revelations of Gyps, or Scouts, in Maynooth? Who has heard tales of its Proctors and their bull-dogs, or of necessity for such functionaries? Who knows of its Barnwells, or St. Clement's, or of any such suburban purlieus of infamy? Who has celebrated, in prose or verse, its rows between "town and gown?" When have its superiors, or visitors, had to pass statutes "*de curriculis*," in other words, on tandem-driving, or on gambling? Who has learnt of Maynooth wine-parties, and ruinous bills run up with tradesmen, or indorsed by youngsters, for their spendthrift elders, to Jews; and of parents, many ways robbed by their sons, confided to the pupillage of sacerdotal tutors and wardens, or masters? Finally, has any one told the public the tales of its combination room on commemoration days, (if such things there be) or insinuated, that word, or syllable has never escaped the lips of a professor, or teacher, unworthy of his office, his sacred calling, or his unsullied reputation, or which he would be ashamed to speak before his class?

Now if Mr. Spooner, who is rather the spoon, which others, too wise to burn their own fingers, dip into the mess that they have made, wishes to suppress Maynooth, because its teaching is immoral, let him be brought to the question of fact. The wise principle of English law is, that

* A short time ago an "Irish student" was procured from Newcastle, for a dispute at Edinburgh, was shaved, and dressed accordingly, was duly instructed, and of course, was beaten. The imposture was discovered, and we trust will be publicly exposed.

† Jude, 13.

you must not rest on secondary evidence, when primary is to be obtained. Surely the evidences of what is considered gentlemanly vice, in our universities, are sufficiently plain; then let similar evidence be here produced. If the education be corrupt, it must show itself in the morals of those subject to it. Prove *these* to be reprehensible, and you will have got hold of a fact, much more telling, and much more demonstrative of your thesis, than fifty pages of St. Alphonsus, dislocated, mistranslated, misapplied, and misunderstood. If you cannot, then you have got into a theory of a novel description; that in an establishment there may be a tainted fountain, that yields pure waters, a wicked teaching that makes virtuous youths. To speak plain, either the scholars are angels, incorruptible in nature, or you have belied the education which makes and keeps them blameless.

We cannot sufficiently admire the shameless hardihood, which aims at the destruction of a virtuous community, on the pretence of immoral teaching, and is content (or proud?) that its future teachers, and the instructors of the poor, should have been bred up in the very hot-beds of acknowledged immorality, mingled indiscriminately with the dissipated worldlings of their own, or of a higher, social class, too often showing no more love of God, or their neighbours, no more devotion or piety, no more taste for theological pursuits, than those who look forward to the world as their happiness and their aim.

We therefore sincerely hope, that some one will be found to propose such a practical view of the question, as this, whenever it shall be brought before public notice. If there shall be a committee asked (and of course granted) to enquire into the teaching of Maynooth, let the investigation be proposed to be carried further, namely, into the state of morals among its professors and scholars—we humbly beg their pardon for such a suggestion; and let a further demand be made for a similar enquiry into the moral training of the Protestant ministry in universities, and the influence on it of its moral teaching. There is more sapping of the foundations of morals in Paley's work, than in the reading of any Catholic theological treatise.

No doubt this would be refused: there is a mighty difference between the two. The future preceptor of morality to the English people is, in the eye of its legislators, the

future holder of a benefice; and so a cog at least in one of the wheels, in the machinery of the state. What is chiefly required for the performance of his allotted duties is, that he be well put out of hand, nicely turned, unangular, smoothly moving in and out, making his revolutions in his sphere with noiseless accuracy, well lubricated with the oil of blandness, rich in the fatness of moderation. We speak not of what the Establishment may wish, but this is all that the *State* requires. Now what will better secure this clerical character of respectability, which rises most easily to high places, than an education amidst polished patricians, and future patrons of ecclesiastical preferment, with early adaptation to their weaknesses, and humours, and gentle forbearance for their passions and their vices. They may not be deep divines, but they become men of the world; they will not turn out impracticable ascetics, but they will make capital men of business, and useful instruments. Mr. Senior may teach a theory of political economy contradictory of New Testament doctrines; Dr. Hampden may be charged with delivering, from the royal chair of theology, rank Socinianism; the son of a late bishop may be known to be forming, by his teaching, a school of rationalism in the heart of a university; all this is nothing, excites no alarm, elicits no enquiry, and awakens no virtuous indignation. And even, if while at the University, and head of a house, such a one shall have a turn for electioneering politics, and render good service to his party, by that clever and quiet management of such affairs, which marks the true gentleman, incorporated in the clergyman, it may be seen, that even this is one of the many paths that leads to the episcopal throne, and yet higher. For we have heard it said, that the second mitre in the island has been known to crown the political exertions of such an ecclesiastic. In other words, the utility (or subserviency) of clerical education for ulterior and political purposes, not its morality, is the Tory criterion of its goodness. This is to be found in an immoral university; it is not to be found in a virtuous college. The former, therefore, must not be touched—the latter must be destroyed.

For, its students are to form no part of state machinery, nor will their education fit them for it. They are considered rather like grit, untractable as the granite of their mountains, that will not be ground, itself, into a soft pulp,

to be kneaded at will, nor let the machine do its grinding smoothly. Were there a prospect that the alumni of St. Patrick's would one day subside into wedded occupants of trim parsonages, the dissatisfaction of Lord Derby with the results of their education would not have been insinuated; were there a likelihood of their turning out "dumb dogs" round their folds, while the prowling jumper broke in and ravaged, or sleepy watchmen on the walls of their city, while marshalled swaddlers "argued in platoons" and conquered, Mr. Newdigate's ire against the college would have been allowed to slumber; were there an understanding, that they would always back and support the electioneering landlord, in coercing the votes of his tenants, in favour of the sworn foes of their religion and race, Colonel Bruen would be most strenuous in deprecating enquiries into so excellent an institution; in fine, were there the remotest probability that they would one day, when priests and pastors stand by, and see cottages wrecked by their owners, villages depopulated by fever, districts made desert by famine, without raising their voices, or calling for help, their present training would never evoke the feeble brutalities of the *Herald*,* or the vulgar atrocities of the *Advertiser*. Nay, we will say more; if the results would be, therefore, such as we have described as impossibilities, the students of Maynooth would not be now disturbed by threatened committees of enquiry, even though, instead of the cautious perusal of the didactic St. Alphonsus, they became like the prodigal's herd, and were allowed to wallow in the obscene mire of Luther's Table-talk, or learnt their duties to sovereigns from Melancthon† and Calvin.

* This paper had the fiendish audacity, a few weeks back, through its American correspondence, real or fictitious, to propose that Lynch law should be exercised against Catholics, beginning with the Irish members; that is, that the passions of the mob should be let loose against them (which only anile impotence prevents it from doing) to plunder, or murder, as might gratify them best. Yet no doubt, the writers, the editors, and proprietors of such a suggestion, call themselves Christians, and would be indignant at being called intolerant, and hate Catholics, because theirs is a persecuting religion!

† Who openly advocates the assassination of refractory kings. See the *Historische und politische Blätter*, (Essay on "Religious and Political Assassination.")—Vol. ix. pp. 337-70.

The scholars of Maynooth are of the bone and sinew of the nation ; not destined to be a distinct class, floating in the unhomogeneous society around them, a mere gentleman among boors, a scholar amidst rustics, a wealthy parson surrounded by starving parishioners. He has not been sent to a lordly foundation, with silk gown or gold tassel, to qualify for a rich family living, by a few years of university learning and dissipation, to prefix through life the *Hon.* to the *Rev.* He has come from the midst of his people, to receive, not merely a higher, but a holier, education : an education wherein classics, poetry, mathematics, science, logic, mental philosophy, and all else that forms the aim of a superior education are only preliminaries, and auxiliaries to sublimer pursuits ; that as he may return to them, wiser, saintlier, more perfect than they, but still wholly and inseparably one of themselves ; able to instruct, to guide, to command them, but no less able to sympathise, and even to suffer with them, to be oppressed, starve, be fever-struck with them :—to be, in other words, what a priest should be, “one that can have compassion... because he himself also is compassed with infirmity.”*

The training requisite for such a priesthood must be very unintelligible, to those who consider a priest only as a subordinate officer of the state. One of its conditions is, that it should not bring the individual under the influence of one particular class, the one especially whose vices he may have one day to reprove, and whose injustice he may have to withstand. It receives not perhaps that outward stamp of grace, which such contact might give, at the expense of sterner virtues ; it makes not youths “clothed in soft garments,” any more than it will make hereafter “reeds shaken by the wind.” It initiates not into the ease which accompanies fashionable dissipation ; nor does it array in the accomplishments, which may disguise a moral corruption. The Church wishes her priesthood to be engrafted upon the unsullied Levite, not on the reformed rake. The Protestant tourist, who visits Maynooth, calls it rough and uncouth compared with his universities—the gowns run more into streamers, and the caps are more battered—there is no donnishness about the professors, and no frippery about the scholars ; and he pronounces the whole thing to be in bad taste. He little

* Heb. v. 2.

knows, he cares less, he can understand not in the least, the life of rough toil, and hardy duty, for which all this is a preparation, the long ride in winter's night, through bog and over mountain, the plague-stricken cabin, the starving family, the moaning survivors; then the return home, not to rest, but to labour, to the confessional, the pulpit, the school; and this in an unending round. Surely the locusts and wild honey, the camel skin and leathern belt of the Precursor, (shocking though no doubt they were to Pharisees, and most disgusting to Sadducees,) are no unfit symbols of the discipline becoming those, whose mission is to be as unwelcome as his to the world, and whose life of labour is to be even more severe.

The question, therefore, seems to lie in a nutshell. It is wanted to have a priesthood like the Anglican ministry; and this St. Patrick's College, does not, cannot, and, with God's blessing, never will produce. "Then," say the bigots and the statesmen of the day, "let it perish." To this we have only one remark to offer in reply. A Catholic priesthood in Ireland there must be; the one that will succeed will have all the qualities and characteristics of the present, with one exception—it cannot possibly have the bond of gratitude, and the principle of attachment, necessarily resulting from education received, through public bounty, in a royal foundation.

While, however, we thus advocate the putting forward of practical views, and the proposal of counter measures, to check the unrighteous attempt to snatch from poor Ireland, the paltry grant to its ecclesiastical education, we are inclined to believe that such a publication as Dr. Dixon's must prove most useful, in arming sensible men for its defence. Some consternation, indeed, this particular work may cast into the enemy's camp. "What! is the Bible allowed to be read in Maynooth? Is there a course of reading, and a chair, of Scripture there? Why, this is more than we have in our universities!" Such exclamations may possibly be heard, when the Biblical professor's work is first mentioned, in certain circles. For we have no doubt that the Maynooth outcry has effectually led many good people (elderly in particular,) to the conviction, that awful discoveries are in store; whereby it will be shown, that the three hundred unfortunate youths, immured in Maynooth, are occupied for several years, in learning the many ways of breaking an oath, the myste-

ries of equivocation, the intricacies of disloyalty, and the niceties of discrimination, in matters to which we need not more definitely advert. Certainly all allusion to any other branches of education has been studiously avoided; nor can it possibly have occurred to the minds of readers on this lately absorbing topic, that after all said and done, Scripture is there read, Scripture is studied, Scripture is expounded. Now, if Scripture be the very essential of education, here it is; as full, as extensive, as palpable as in Oxford, or at Trinity College. Again, if the reading of the Word be the antidote of every bane, the corrector of every error, the suggestion of every truth—why, the Maynooth student has it as abundantly as the scholar at Cambridge or King's College.

We cannot indeed doubt, from the work before us, that the scriptural education of St. Patrick's College is both practical and solid. For Dr. Dixon assures us, that his "principal object has not been, to provide a book for the learned reader," but "to present to the intelligent Catholic public generally, a book wherein they might read, in plain and simple, and clear language, facts and doctrines, highly interesting to a Christian." (p. iv.) Now we have no hesitation in saying that, if in the present work, the professor has descended from his chair, to the level of ordinary information and abilities, we have a right to conclude, that when teaching his class, the lectures must be most erudite, and most instructive. For his Introduction shows him to be well acquainted with the whole range of biblical literature, ancient and modern, Catholic and heterodox, critical, hermeneutical, archæological, and religious. From these sources he has drawn, judiciously and accurately, without servility in copying any one, and without confusion in combining the labours of many. The work is divided into eighteen Dissertations, each of which is again subdivided into chapters, and sections. Each dissertation embraces one of the great topics of an "Introduction," such as the Canon, the Versions of Scripture, Hermeneutics, Biblical Criticism. It is not, indeed, to be expected, nor is it intended by the learned author, that each of these heads should exhaust the subject. Every one of them, indeed any one of the chapters in the work, might easily become a theme for a separate volume. And, in fact, when one thinks of Bochart's folio on the Geography of Scripture, followed as it has been by endless additions, as from

Reland, Michaëlis, and Rosenmüller; of his *Hierozoicon*, in two folios, treating only of the animals of Scripture; of Scheuchzer's huge *Physica Sacra*, and Hiller's quarto *Hierobotanicon*, discussing its plants, not to speak of Niebuhr's travels, and other subsidiary works: when one contemplates the long series of folios that compose Ugolini's *Thesaurus Antiquitatum*, filled only with Essays, and Dissertations on particular subjects, such as enter into the Introduction, and considers that it reaches not the productions of our own age; finally, not to be over-tedious, when one looks at the encreasing stream of mere critical researches coming down from Morinus, and Capellus, to Kennicott, and De Rossi; from Lambert Bos, to Holmes and Parsons, from Simon to Griesbach, Mathæi, and Scholz, one can hardly conceive how such a mass of materials can be condensed, even by a steam-power if applicable, or distilled, or by any other process reduced, into the compass of two volumes. As far as it can be done, Dr. Dixon has been most successful. He indulges not in prolix disquisition; he does not overload his pages with references; he avoids the appearance of learning; and thus is able, in a very short space, to give what occupies whole chapters in other writers. Even supposing Horne's Introduction to be an orthodox work, we should give the preference to Dr. Dixon's, as more lucid, more simple, more practical, and more useful. Indeed, Horne's compilation, full as it is of strange contradiction, fallacious direction, and lumbering erudition, is far too bulky and heavy for a manuduction, and too incomplete for an authority. It will neither begin, nor finish, the formation of a Biblical scholar. After reading a good introduction, simple and elementary, and mastering the first principles of each branch of the science, the aspirant to this character, must go at once to work, with the leading authorities on each, following them, if possible, to the original sources, whence they derived their knowledge. If he aspires not so high, but only wishes to possess such preliminary knowledge, as may enable him to read the word of God with more instruction and edification; and if, for this purpose, he does not wish to learn the conflicting opinions of writers, and their grounds for them, but only to obtain simple information, then the Introduction before us is amply abundant, and will satisfy all his just desires.

We must not overlook one pleasing and useful charac-

teristic of this work, and that is, its practical application of the principles laid down. Two instances have particularly gratified us. The subject of "Biblical Criticism" is closed by an example, which shows at once how important it is for popular controversy, and how it is to be employed. It is well known that the "Our Father," as recited by Catholics and Protestants, differs chiefly in the addition, by the latter, of what is called a doxology; "for Thine is the kingdom, &c." Now the example chosen by Dr. Dixon, to apply the rules of criticism is this clause. Is it really a part of Scripture, or is it an interpolation where it occurs, in St. Matthew? Dr. Dixon examines the evidences, first in favour of, and then against, the genuineness of the clause; and comes to the conclusion, that, as a part of Scripture, "the doxology in St. Matthew is spurious," (vol. i. p. 269.) We may observe that the most eminent editors of the New Testament, including Erasmus, Mill, Bengel, Wetstein, Griesbach, and Scholz, all, except the first and last, Protestants, reject the clause.

The second example, or illustration, which our learned author gives, is at the close of his Dissertation upon Hermeneutics. He selects it from the commandments delivered by God to the Jews. It is well known, that Protestants popularly charge us with suppressing the second commandment; in other words, they please to divide our first commandment into two, and to compress our two last into one. It is of no use arguing against this outrage on common sense, by showing that every word of the Ten Commandments is there, and that therefore, whatever may be the difference of arrangement, or rather of division, the substance and reality are the same. It goes on being repeated in pamphlet, and fly-sheets, in speech, and in sermon, in church, and in meeting, to children and to old women, that the papists, shrinking before the prohibition to adore images, which of course they do, have boldly suppressed the second commandment, and divided the two last, to make up the number. The best way, no doubt, is to prove that we alone have preserved the true distribution of the decalogue, and this Dr. Dixon has very clearly done. He has given a full, learned, and acute discussion on the subject, which will well repay perusal. (pp. 356—367.)

We need not say that the learned professor is, throughout his work, eminently Catholic, and writes for Catholics.

Thus he not only rejects the false and foolish theories of rationalistic interpretation, but he gives full weight to, and copiously illustrates, the great Catholic principle of dogmatic and moral hermeneutics, tradition. (pp. 335, seqq.) He does not merely prove the inspiration of Scripture on its only just ground, but he shows that, out of the Catholic Church, it is impossible to demonstrate it. (pp. 9, seqq.) The Catholic Canon of Scripture is likewise vindicated. (pp. 26, seqq.) though we find no reference to the learned and conclusive work of Professor Vincenti, lately published at Rome, on this subject. In fine, at the conclusion of the work, we have an ample catalogue of scriptural writers, Catholic and Protestant, in which the comparative merits of the two classes are ably, and satisfactorily, though succinctly, exhibited. (vol. ii. pp. 336—432.)

We are glad to find a Catholic, in these islands, take possession of a ground, which belongs, of right, exclusively to us. We have allowed ourselves quite long enough to be thrown upon the defensive, and to be dragged into replies to impertinent questions, and into confutations of groundless objections. Any Protestant, who may not understand three lines of what he reads, or who never takes up a Bible once a month, or who, if he reads, does so mechanically, without being able to give an intelligible explanation of a single passage; or who reading it, or not, does not put into practice one of its precepts; in fine, any one calling himself a Protestant, though in heart not a Christian, considers himself entitled to say to any Catholic, from the peasant to the bishop: "Why do you not do as I do, make the Bible your rule of faith, and use the privilege of reading it, and judging for yourself?" Unfortunately a Catholic so interrogated feels that he has all the prejudices of the nation marshalled against him, only waiting his answer to rush upon him, through the indignation of his interrogator. He knows that it is already a foregone conclusion, that all religion consists in reading, or pretending to read, the Bible; that he who does not at least claim the privilege of reading it as he likes, though he may never use it, is something horrible, desperate, doomed to perdition; while he who boasts, and talks about it, though vicious in life, and grovelling in mind, secures some sort of religious pre-eminence here below, and has a passport for the sort of fool's paradise which he considers heaven to be. All this has long been

decided by the newspapers, and by Exeter Hall, and no one is allowed to doubt it, without being stared out of countenance, for a very infidel. The Catholic, therefore, often will not have the courage, or perhaps the hope of a hearing, to say, as he ought; "And pray, sir," (or "madam," as the case may be,) "what do you know about the Bible; or where did you get the book that you call by that name; or how do you know that it is the Bible at all?" Instead of this, he will join issue upon the question put to him, and assert, what no doubt is true, but is only leading his adversary further from the truth, that he individually, and many others, are allowed to read the Bible, and that our Church permits it.

We say that this leads the adversary further from the truth; for it gives him (if he believe you, which ten to one he does not) the further testimony of yourself, and perhaps of the Catholic Church, to his principle on Bible-reading. You in a manner agree with him in the principle, and only combat his application. You do not say to him, "I deny your right altogether to read the Bible;" but you try only to vindicate your Church, from what he considers a dreadful imputation (and you *seem* to agree in the view), viz., the prohibition of the reading of the Scripture in the vulgar tongue. And if he does not believe your assertion, he goes away much more convinced, that Catholics cannot face this charge, and that they are conscious of doing wrong, in not permitting the promiscuous perusal of the Scriptures.

Now we must be prepared to take a much higher ground than this. The doctrine and practice of the Church must not be allowed to be impugned by those who have no claim at all to Scripture, and who can prove neither its canon, its inspiration, nor its primary doctrines, except through that very authority which they are questioning, and through treacherous inconsistency with the principles on which they are interrogating it. When many years ago this ground was boldly adopted, it was charged with being an attempt to throw Protestants into infidelity, and sap the foundations of the Bible. Years of experience, and observation not superficial, have only strengthened our conviction, that this course must be fearlessly pursued. We must deny to Protestantism any right to use the Bible, much more to interpret it. Cruel and unfeeling it may be pronounced by those who understand the strength of our position, and the cogency of the argument; but it is much more chari-

table than to leave them to the repeated sin of blaspheming God's Spouse, and trying to undermine the faith of our poor Catholics.

The cry of "The Bible! the Bible! nothing but he Bible!" is as perilous to man's salvation, as the Jews' senseless cry "The Temple of the Lord! the Temple of the Lord! the Temple of the Lord it is!"* They had the Temple indeed, and the Shechinah, and the Altar, and the Ephod; and of the mere possession they made a boast, and a ground of confidence. And this confidence led to a neglect of the very duties which the temple had been built to secure, faith, and prayer, and sacrifice, and outward worship. How did the Almighty meet this perversion of His institutions? By threatening, or rather foretelling, the destruction of its cause. The Temple would be taken from Israel, that it might learn to trust in God, and not in His material dwelling. The Temple had become an idol, and its illusion must be destroyed. Painfully again we must repeat, the Bible-cry is become, in the mouths of many Protestants, as vain, as formal, and as superstitious, as the Temple-cry of the Jews. The unintelligible reading of it, nay, the very possession of it, is deemed a badge of religion, security of salvation. And how shall this perversion of God's intentions be removed? By the same process—a process which Protestantism is itself every day hastening, in a fearful way, leaving no alternative but despair. For, on one side, the learned Protestantism of the continent, hastening down a rapid flight of consistent steps, towards a dark abyss of infidelity, is carrying the Bible down to that chaos of confusion and disorder, which is but a deeper echo of jarring and discordant sounds heard above, in schools, universities, churches, and meeting-houses of the heterodox. Myths, and accommodations; allegories and parables; inversions of admitted chronologies, and transfers of histories to poetry; philological illustrations, and critical emendations; these explain, transmute, and sink the Bible, down to the level of an ordinary book, an uninspired old record. And, on the other hand, the handling of the same sacred volume, by the unlearned and unstable, is, through another process, destroying its vitality. If the one agency is hurrying the Bible (as far as Protestants are concerned) fast into the dark cavern of night and death, the other is no less

* Jer. vii. 4.

sinking it into the very mire of human caprice, passion, and absurdity. The holy, the sublime, the awful Word of God, over which Saints have meditated in cells, for years of ineffable sweetness, yet of solemn reverence; round which scholars, pale with watching, have wreathed the flowers they have woven or culled, in variegated commentaries; which the silver voice of virgins, or the deep tones of holy monks have chaunted in breathless midnight, that no earthly sound might disturb the depth of their meditation; this compilation of the one Spirit of God, from the providence of centuries, through which He alone has lived; this treasure of spiritual honey, drawn from a thousand flowers of various delicacy of perfume and flavour, not mixing, but each preserved; this gem of matchless price, reflecting in an infinite number of faces, the ever-varying yet constant image of God, in His might, in His sweetness, in His anger, in His love, in His unity, in His Trinity, in His heavens, on His earth, on Sinai and on Calvary; this noblest, greatest, divinest of things unsacramental, is put, indiscriminately, uncereemoniously, into the hands of every one. It is the schoolboy's task-book, it is the jailor's present, it is the drunkard's pawned pledge, it is the dotard's text-book, it is the irreverent jester's butt, it is the fanatic's justification for every vice, blasphemy, and profaneness which he commits. For into every one's hand it must needs be thrust, from the Chinese to the Ojibbawa, from the Laplander to the Bosjman; from the child to the dotard, from the stuttering peasant to the glib, self-righteous old dame.

Now, when it is put into these hands, clean or unclean, there is no evidence given with it that it is what it is called—the Word of God. No preliminary study, no previous demonstration of genuineness, authenticity, or inspiration, no prefatory information about the writers, their times, their country, their objects. Some one tells them, "Here, take this book, and read it diligently, and learn from it what you have to believe, and what to practise. For it is the Word of God." The person giving it may be a clergyman, or the agent of a Bible society, or a benevolent lady. Possibly on their word it is so taken; but the receiver has no better authority for his belief than another being fallible as himself. There is no principle in his mind, or in his faith, which makes that individual a link in a chain, that goes on, by removes easily counted, to what he knows to be an infallible authority. The giver's word, even if he

be a clergyman, is no evidence, conveys no certainty. How slight must be the belief in inspiration, how vague, how unconvincing, which is thus communicated! But while to minds rude, uninstructed, unfurnished with necessary knowledge to understand a common book, the most sacred and difficult of all is thus lightly entrusted, it is on terms such as common sense would forbid, in the case of any other volume. Full power is given them, and each of them, over it. It is delivered up, without limitation, to their tender mercies, to be interpreted by each one as he pleases, to have any sense, however absurd, put upon it. Who would conceive it possible that any code of laws, moral or social, could with safety be thus treated? Who would not feel that it would be exposing legislative enactments, of but secondary importance, to be degraded, and brought into contempt, and entangled in endless confusion, were a similar policy to be adopted in their regard?

But of course we are told that the difference between the two is immense; that the one is the word of man, the other the Word of God. Agreed. Yet if God has made use of human language, he has submitted it to the action of the ears, the judgment, the sense, and feelings, which are exercised on that means of communication. Indeed, it is not too much to say, that God, who could have given us a Bible as easy to read as a child's primer, a Bible in words of two syllables, has on the contrary chosen to give us a work, more difficult to understand than any other perhaps in existence. No Greek classic, no Arabic or Persian poet, no Hindoo mystic is more abstruse. It is mere cant and rhapsody to assert the contrary. What can a peasant, who is told to read through his Bible, make out of the family, and national genealogies of Genesis, or Esdras; of the architectural details of Exodus, Kings, and Ezekiel; of the minute regulations for sacrifices, uncleannesses, diseases, and expiations in Leviticus; of the wars, the exterminations, the merciless dealings of Josue, Samuel and Kings? What meaning will he draw from the poetry of the prophets; from the woes of Isaias against the Moabites, Ethiopians, Babylonians, and Syrians; from the obscure parabolic visions of Ezechiel; from the locusts of Joel, the unclean marriages of Osee; the murmurings of Jonas, the dark adumbrations of Habaccuc? And the Psalms, and Job, and Ecclesiastes, so deep, so obscure, so full of danger to a single false step in misapplication, who can conceive

what nonsense, or even blasphemy, an untutored mind may elaborate from them, reading them, and certainly not understanding them, with the proud assurance, that it is just as privileged as the most learned doctor, to comprehend, and to explain, and to apply whatever they contain? And last of all, take "the Canticle of Canticles." What delicacy of mind and feeling, what a knowledge of the existence, and principles of a mystical application, what a power of abstracting from apparent sensuality of thought and phrase, and dwelling only on its chastest antagonism—love divine—does not this most mysterious, most perplexing, and most bewildering gift of divine inspiration demand, for its profitable, or even its safe, perusal.

We hesitate not to repeat, that merely as a book to be understood, the Bible presents more difficulties, independent of phraseology or style, than any other work. But considered as a practical book, from which each of its readers has to distil his own code of morals, and his own articles of faith, it becomes a thousand times more difficult, not to say dangerous. Can any one believe that no danger will arise to an untutored mind, from reading the accounts of what now would be crimes, unrepented, when there recorded; none from the conduct of men described as pleasing to God, which yet even the civil laws would not tolerate with impunity; none from the plain-spoken descriptions of occurrences, over which the usages of society would now cast a veil; none from the familiar use of imagery and illustration, which the most devoted Biblical would shrink from employing in his pulpit? And as to faith, we should be almost ready to retract every word that we have written, if a well-attested case could be proved to us, of any one, left to learn religion from the Bible, having thence deduced the doctrine of the Trinity, or of one only God in three real persons; or that of the Divinity of our Lord, in its true sense, as consubstantial to the Father, as being one in person, and having two perfect natures. These are the two dogmas which the Church has considered essential to salvation, and fundamental of all revealed religion; yet we feel confident, that no single person has ever discovered these for himself in the Bible, and that they are only believed by Bible-Christians (where they *are* believed) in consequence of a self-deceit, or self-imposition, in fancying that they hold on Scripture evidence, what in reality they only maintain, because they have been so

taught in church, that is, on the evidence of their clergyman.

We may be told that we are arguing upon an overstrained hypothesis: and that the Bible-alone theory, on the contrary, does not exclude guidance in the use of Scripture. See how many commentaries, and expositions of the Bible, Protestants have written; see how diligently all reformed clergymen expound it to their flocks.

As to the first point, let us observe, that the fact is in direct contradiction with principle. For a hundred thousand copies of the Bible, without note or comment, (this being the special boast of the system,) that are annually distributed, how many copies of Scott's, or Clarke's, or Kitto's commentaries are *sold*? Why, not one to the hundred. The bible is given away to the poor and rude, the commentary is bought by the rich and educated. "In the worst inn's worst room," in the ship's fore-castle, in the shepherd's cottage, the well-known binding of the Society's Bible is to be seen; but who would think of looking for a commentary there? We come therefore to this conclusion, that Protestantism considers the Scripture to be an easy book for the illiterate, but fraught with difficulties for the learned, fit to be read in its naked plainness by the unwise, but requiring the addition of copious illustration for the educated. Or else we must conclude, that all annotation and explanation is an affront to that, which God made so simple, that it is intelligible and luminous to the ignorant and uncultivated.

Then as to the light which is drawn from clerical exposition of Scripture, where is it to be found? We have certainly learnt but little dogmatic truth from such Anglican sermons as we have read; still less have we found there anything approaching to a body of doctrine drawn from the Bible. But this is not our present point. The Bible is given to all, as a guide or rule. Now one goes on Sunday to hear a high church preacher; and another to sit under an evangelical minister; this goes to a Baptist conventicle, and that to a Unitarian meeting-house. In Scotland one goes to the parish kirk, and another to a free kirk. It is perfectly certain, that each will return home, with a perfectly different set of doctrines, drawn from the same Bible; and no one in his senses, we apprehend, will imagine, that the hearer of the Puseyite, meeting his neighbour of the Socinians, after service, will find

that they have both been listening to scriptural sermons, inculcating the same views; for example, that the Puseyite shall find that the Unitarian preacher has been proving from Scripture the authority of the Church, or sacramental action in it, or the latter learn that his friend has been listening to a scriptural discourse against the Divinity of our Lord. But instead of this, it will be found that all who hear one clergyman agree generally together, by agreeing with him. And who will say that this is the result of independent Bible reading, or Protestant private judgment upon it? It comes therefore to this; either this sacred book is, in reality, not left to the reader's own perusal, but requires guidance, which may make it the vehicle for the most contradictory doctrines; or else that guidance is a pernicious departure from the first principle of Protestantism, ought to be withdrawn, and a still greater variety of individual convictions should be hailed as the legitimate result of liberty.

In any way we may deduce, that Scripture thus given up to the interpretation of the multitude, even though it be assisted by the labours of teachers, more learned but as fallible as themselves, and contradicting each other, becomes pliable, and subservient to any imaginable theory of faith or morals: to use the irreverent, but expressive comparison of an old writer, it is as "a nose of wax" that may be twisted, moulded, kneaded, and tortured into any shape; or, to adopt the sterner and consecrated phrase of an inspired apostle, it is "wrested," that is, forcibly, violently, recklessly, and perversely distorted, "by the unlearned and unstable," by the ignorant who have no fixed and unerring code of faith, but are driven to and fro by every wind of doctrine, to the teaching of errors which lead "to their own destruction."*

What must be the natural tendency of this use of Scripture? Certainly to bring it more and more into contempt. Without any solid ground for belief in its inspiration, it is impossible that the faith in this, its only claim to deference, can long continue. It must wear out more and more, in each generation. Without any sure guide in its interpretation varieties in opinion will every day encrease. Without any idea of a dogmatical system, all sense of definite doctrine, as taught there, must

* 2 Peter. iii. 16.

diminish. Let it not be said: "But the experiment has gone on for three hundred years, and yet it has not come absolutely to this." We might reply, that it has gone pretty far already; and that we are beginning now to see the harvest of past seed. But we must rather deny the assertion. It is true that the abstract principle of the "Bible alone," as expressed boldly by the apostate Chillingworth, has been an axiom of Protestantism; but it is only within our own generation that its practical working has been tried. Two means were previously wanting. The great bulk of the working classes could not read, and there were no Bible readers, to supply that deficiency. And the Bible was not brought within the reach of the population by gratuitous distribution, till societies for that purpose had sprung up. It is therefore only now, that the experiment is being tried on a great scale, of what the indiscriminate reading of the Bible will make a people. It has been tried in the dominions of Queen Pomare, with unexampled success. It has, under the judicious management of evangelical missionaries, transformed a mild and promising race, into a pack of lazy, immoral infidels. The very latest accounts (we wish we had room for some extracts,) confirm all that we foresaw years ago. With us the process may be slower. There is yet in England a strong underground of old tradition, which, thank God, the Reformation could not dig up, and which deceives men into an inconsistent conviction (the "*bienheureuses inconséquences de l'esprit de l'homme*," as Guizot calls them,)* of doctrines, which they fancy they have learnt of themselves. There is a civilization, and there are institutions interwoven with old truths, which thus receive from them an artificial life, and will flourish and be green, in consequence, after their own roots are withered. There is a deference, too, beyond what exists in other countries, from the outward honour of rank and wealth, to their opinions and even doctrines. And moreover there is a conformity of moral feeling, a congeniality of thought, with the principles of the Bible, the result of Christianity, which are mistaken for evidences of its claims, by proving it to be in harmony with man's soul.

But let us not forget, on the other hand, the agencies at work for the destruction of these preservative and con-

* Preface to his "*Etudes Morales*," 1851.

servative influences. Into rural districts they may be slow in penetrating. The danger there is more of a moral degeneracy, of a brutalizing decline of virtuous feeling. The poisonings, the infanticides, the disregard of connubial ties, in fact, the total contempt of matrimony, and the increase of illegitimacy, show in which direction is the course of English country morality, and may give a test of how far Bible reading has power to counteract it. But in the intelligent population of towns and cities, it is with powers directly hostile to Scripture that religion has to contend; and Protestantism is, we hold, unable to cope with them. We have seen Biblical summaries which circulate among the people, calculated to startle them, and shake their faith. As for example, the text will be: "Moses was a man exceeding meek above all that dwelt upon earth:"* then will follow all the destructions of men committed under his government, while Israel was in the desert. Or it may be, "David was a man according to God's own heart,"† followed by the enumeration of actions, which are at variance with our moral feelings and ideas. Nor is this all. Debates and discussions on such subjects are publicly held; and we have seen, in one of the periodicals that detail them, (the "Reasoner,") an account of a numerous meeting, to hear a champion of the inspiration of the Bible give his proofs. These were divided into some twenty heads: but it seems he broke down in the first, and never made his appearance again. Every week this publication, which openly denies Scripture, gives a long list of the anti-Christian lectures, to be given, in a number of halls devoted to this object. In other words, the popular arts, and popular arms, which Protestantism has for years been using against the Church, infidelity is now employing against Christianity; the short page of biting questions, the sheet of blasphemous ridicule, the tract full of exploded calumnies, the pamphlet *pot-pourri* of all combined; those fictitious discussions, in which all is predetermined one way, oratory that "tickles the ears," the "sounding brass" of bellowing declaimers, and the "tinkling cymbals" of lady-lecturers, (for they who lack charity must be as one of these,)—a verification, in fact, of what Catholics have long said, that every stone thrown by

* Num. xii. 3.

† 1 Reg. xiii. 14. 3 Reg. xv. 3.

the Protestant against the Church of Christ, is sure to be picked up, and cast at the glass house from which it was foolishly sped.

To these dangers and to many more, which we must pass over, is the Bible to be exposed in the coming generation. And the dangers will encrease; for in the hands of sciolists every new discovery furnishes an objection. As yet geology, human races, Egyptian and Indian antiquities have novelties for the frequenters of such meetings as we have described; but electricity and mesmerism are every day furnishing new implements for the attempt to uproot two of the strongest foundations on which Anglicans build, not Christianity only, but the inspiration of Scripture—miracles, and prophecy. But on the other hand, the antidotes which heresy can furnish cannot encrease. There is no chance of any new discovery which will supply direct evidence of inspiration. This is what Protestantism totally wants. Corroborative, or indirect proof comes well upon the positive demonstration; but where this is wanting, as it is and has been, out of the Church, since the days of Tertullian to this hour, every other argument must fail. Nor let it be overlooked, that these perils to belief in the Bible arise from the principle now so tauntingly thrown in our faces, by the questions with which we opened this disquisition; from the promiscuous and universal reading recommended by modern Protestantism. You put this abstruse and complicated volume into the hands of everybody, and you court free inquiry into it, and the exercise of uncontrolled judgment to be exercised on it. At the same time, as we have before observed, you furnish them with no evidence of what you assert, that this is a book divinely inspired. You leave it to them to obtain, or extract, as best they can, the proofs. Is it wonderful that they should not discover, what their masters cannot give them? On the contrary, is not such free enquiry sure to lead many half-learned, or keen-witted, or over-daring spirits, to the rejection of claims, for which they have been taught no foundation? We thus trace directly to the principle of the Bible-cry, that very retribution for the ill-used blessing, which God threatened his people for their abuse of the Temple, and their turning it into what we have called the Temple-cry, the destruction, for them, of the misunderstood gift.

There are two ways, then, in which we foresee this result,

in truth the spread of infidelity, less intellectual, and more sensual than German rationalism, arising from the unlimited, and unguided use of the Scriptures. The one consists in the want of evidence that accompanies them, beyond the word of man; an evidence which by degrees is found to be insufficient, and leads to doubt and then to disbelief. The second consists of the innumerable varieties of opinions, many of them absurd, many wicked, into which a mass of unlettered and untutored men, judging for themselves, must fall; all idea of dogma being gradually extinguished, all definite belief in the primary mysteries being lost, till Christianity becomes a name; unless a happier solution come—a swallowing up of this spiritual death in victory, by the substitution of Catholic certainty, for Protestant insecurity. We need not more nearly approach another topic, which we have cursorily touched, the effect which the unlearned use of Scripture may have, in suggesting colourable excuses for consent to the frailties of our nature. We believe this result to be by no means uncommon in individual cases; but we know not to what extent it may become a public scandal. It is strange, that while the English, perhaps we may say the Germanic character is naturally phlegmatic, passive, and unimpressionable, in all ordinary matters, there is none more easily wrought up to fanaticism in religion. Not to speak of the Anabaptists in Germany, and the Puritans in Great-Britain, as belonging to an earlier period, we have seen how any wild enthusiast can collect a crowd of followers, who are easily induced to see his pretensions warranted, or foreshown by the Bible. Johanna Southcote, Ward,* Courtney, Irving, in their day, led many after them; and Joe Smith and the Mormons are not unlikely yet to fill a remarkable chapter in the history of biblical illusions. The same book was put forward by all, as sealing their mission; and if any of our readers are occasionally favoured by letters, printed or manuscript, purporting to have been sent to all peers, bishops, and commoners of the realm, they will be aware that there exists in the neighbourhood of

* This man got somehow into gaol; and we know not how he ended. But the text by which he proved himself to be foretold in Scripture, and by which he induced many silly persons to follow him, was Luke ii. 14 (as in the Anglican version) "Glory be to God in the highest, and on earth peace to-Ward's men."

London, a lady and child, in whom is believed to be centred the fulfilment of all the prophets, and the complement of New Testament revelation. For every text of Scripture is supposed to have reference to them, and to some reverend person, who either ministers to the gentle folly, or is its amiable victim! Nor is this a solitary instance. We have, within these few months, received from their authors several works, containing the most crack-brained systems of religion, extracted from the Bible. But what shall we say to that flaming and disgusting specimen of Protestant biblical fanaticism, that compound of blasphemy, infamy, craziness, and hypocrisy—the Agapemone? For this is a tolerated result of free deductions from Scripture reading, and interpretation.

There is another cry immediately raised, when Catholics attack Protestant biblical fallacies. It is "See how Popery is in league with infidelity: it allies itself with it, in undermining the Bible." In reality, we have so far avoided the course, which might give rise to this foolish charge. We have been showing that the catastrophe, which is groundlessly attributed to us in thought, is more likely to be brought about in reality, by the inconsiderate "liberty of prophesying," which, partly in dislike of us, our adversaries are promoting. Yet, we are not inclined to shrink from our duty, in consequence of this accusation. We deem it necessary, because charitable and just, for Catholics to make a stand on their high principle; no matter to what conclusions it may lead others. "Protestants have no claim to the Bible; they have no means of proving its inspiration, except by belying the very theory of which, against us, they make their boast." The more prominently this can be put forth, the shorter will be the strife; or rather let us say, the shorter the road to truth.

Dr. Dixon has treated this question well; and one point in particular he has put in what strikes us as a novel and striking view; which might be pressed even further than it is by him. Dr. Bloomfield, of London, in a charge delivered in St. Paul's, Nov. 2, 1850, thus expressed himself: "To deny the inspiration of Scripture is one step towards the rejection of the Gospel as a revelation from God. Against this *fatal heresy* I would earnestly caution my younger brethren, as being one from which, in the present state of the human mind, we have more to fear than from the encroachments of Popery."

Now before quoting Dr. Dixon's judicious commentary on this passage, we may remark, that the dignitary who delivered it, clearly intimates what is confirmatory of all that we have written. For he acknowledges that disbelief of inspiration is an encroaching, or encreasing error; nay he intimates that it is so spreading as to threaten his younger brethren. Cautioning them, in particular, proves that it is an evil of the coming generation, and a cancer that is likely to spread in the clergy of the establishment themselves. For why would not older pastors be as much called, to repel the evil, if it threatened the flock? But as "the encroachments of Popery" are feared to be dangerous to the younger clergy, so are they cautioned, on the other hand, against this no less fatal heresy. Let any Catholic, of whatever country, be asked, if he should think it possible that a Bishop of his Church, addressing his clergy, should have cautioned them—priests already—against denying the inspiration of holy Scripture? Unhesitatingly he would reply, that the very idea is ridiculous; that it supposes a simple impossibility. Yet here we have one corresponding, in position in the English Establishment, to one of our Bishops, feeling it a duty to warn his younger brethren against falling into this fatal heresy. Does not this more than prove all that we have said, especially when we add his reference to "the present state of the human mind," as a further evidence, of the avowed tendency of the age?

Now let us hear the learned professor's pithy comment, "We are here told, and truly, that to deny inspiration is to embrace a *fatal heresy*. On the other hand, the Church of England, in her sixth article, declares that 'holy scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of faith, or to be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.' We shall see just now, how, by adhering to the doctrine of *this article*, any one can be convicted of *fatal heresy* for denying the inspiration of Scripture." (Vol. i. p. 11.) Dr. Dixon then proceeds to establish most satisfactorily, that Protestants cannot possibly prove, on consistent grounds, this inspiration.

The inconsistency of Dr. Bloomfield's reasoning thus appears. He calls it a fatal heresy to deny the inspiration of the Bible. A fatal heresy can only be the denial of an article of faith, necessary to salvation. But according to

the Articles nothing can be of faith which cannot be proved by Scripture, it follows, therefore, that the inspiration of Scripture is proved by Scripture. Hence we have this process of logical demonstration established. You are bound under pain of heresy to believe in the inspiration of the Bible. But as no heresy can exist unless the doctrine which it contradicts, be read in the Bible, it follows that you are obliged to believe in the inspiration of the Bible, because that inspiration is there declared. But belief in what is there taught, as an essential truth, to deny which is heresy, presupposes the recognition of the Bible as an inspired book; and therefore you are thrown back and forward from one horn to the other; you believe in the Bible because it is inspired, and you believe it is inspired because you find it in the Bible.

The truth is comprised in a few words: "No infallible Church, no Bible." On no less, on no other authority could such a tremendous fact be received: no weaker foundation will uphold it. We mentioned above some zealous Protestant, undertaking to prove, to an infidel assembly, the inspiration of Scripture, by some twenty arguments. The attempt unwittingly reminds us of the cunning animal in the fable, that had a hundred ways of eluding the pursuit of his enemies. The hounds gave chase, and in his first doubling he was caught. We pretend to no more than his more modest companion—to one only means of salvation. When pursued, we climb, at once, up the "tree of the Church," and we look tranquilly down upon our foiled enemies, from amidst the thick foliage of venerable antiquity; upon every leaf of which we read inscribed, those golden words of St. Augustine, now become axiomatic in the schools, "*Ego autem Evangelio non crederem, nisi me Catholicæ Ecclesiæ commoveret auctoritas.*" "I would not believe in the Gospel, unless the authority of the Catholic Church moved me thereto."

If therefore we be asked, why we do not give the Bible indifferently to all; and the shutting up (as it is called) of God's word, be disdainfully thrown in our face, we will not seek to elude the question, or meet the taunt, by denial, or by attempts to prove that our principles on this subject are not antagonistic to those of Protestants. They are antagonistic, and we glory in avowing it.

1. We answer, therefore, boldly, that we give not the

Word of God indiscriminately to all, because God Himself has not so given it. He has not made reading an essential part of man's constitution, nor a congenital faculty, nor a term of salvation, nor a condition of Christianity. But hearing He has made such, and then has told us that "Faith cometh from hearing, and hearing from the Word of God."* He has not made "paper and ink,"† the badges of His apostle's calling, but the keys of His kingdom. He did not give to the world the means of multiplying books by machinery, nor even materials in abundance on which to print them, till after His Church had flourished for fourteen hundred years, had bred thousands of martyrs, had educated hundreds of doctors and learned men, had trained myriads of holy religious to perfection, had sent millions of simple believers to the heavenly Jerusalem; had converted vast nations, had planted many glorious churches, had settled Christianity in unity over the whole world, and had fulfilled in herself whatever in prophecy was magnificent, whatever in types was majestic, whatever in promise was unailing. Are we to believe that no Providence watched over the Church, while she achieved all this, and was one, and fair, and holy before the world; and that God's action only began when the time of discord came, and of contentions, and of divisions, and has been continued (it is blasphemy to think it,) only to prolong and deepen the strife, and to prepare the way for an age of selfishness, of hardness, of doubt, and of unbelief? He did not give to His apostles a precept to write; He did not deliver a code to be written; He did not prescribe a single written formula, a liturgy, a prayer to be so recorded. He left it to the transient impulse of the moment, to the sway of circumstances, to the demands of friendship, to the claims of local charity, to suggest the occasion, and the form, and the amount, and the very substance of what each would deliver to particular churches, or to families, or to individuals, of the immense, and still unexhausted stores that were laid up with them. And is this all compatible with the idea, of an essential requisite of His religion, nay, the only essential requisite, being the compilation of the New Testament? He allowed the very flower and beauty of His Church to pass away, before a word was written; the one-hearted and one-souled

* Rom. x. 16, 17.

† 2 Jo. 12.

Church of Jerusalem had drooped and withered; the chair of Antioch, where first Christianity found a name, had migrated to Rome, leaving only a glorious foot-print of the primacy impressed, in thankfulness, on that privileged city; the Church's cradle had been sprinkled with blood; before the first reed was dipped in ink, under the Holy Spirit's overshadowing wing, to write the first words of the new inspiration. Holy men passed to glory; Stephen was stoned, James martyred; nay, Mary, the Mother of our Redeemer, was taken up to heaven, without ever enjoying the prerogative of every Christian, this almost necessary condition of Christianity, reading the complete Word of God. Moreover, apostles themselves had travelled far away from the seat of religious splendour, were wandering in Scythia, and Armenia, and India, and founding churches, unconscious perhaps of what their brethren had written, unable certainly to communicate it to their neophytes; yet their work stood firm on its basis, and cemented to the great universal Church. The Eunuch had gone rejoicing from the road of Gaza, to Queen Candace, and had borne Christianity to the depths of the African desert; but Philip had no New Testament to give him as a parting gift, and as a safe record of what he had to reach. His only Gospel was Isaias, and the short commentary on it, which Philip had given him in his chariot. And so St. Irenæus tells us that many nations possessed Christianity, "without ink or paper." Are we then to believe that these saints, these apostles, these churches, were, in that privileged season of God's mercy, deprived of what alone was to be the solace, the stay, the foundation, the bulwark, the load-star, the helm, the salvation of every Christian?

For our parts, we repudiate any theory, involving such revolting ideas, so much pride and boastfulness, so much pretension to superiority, where we may well be humbled and abashed, still more contradicting so palpably, and so grossly the evident course of God's dispensation, nay, His manifested will. We therefore believe His sacred word to be a gift of insuperable value, not only worth a thousand times over all that man has written else, but having no price except what God alone can fix, in that same wisdom which inspired them. But at the same time we believe that God built up and completed His Church, both in external construction and in interior perfection,

before He allowed the first record of inspiration to be penned; that he so formed it, solid in its frame-work, beautiful in its proportions, splendid in its appointments, so well and harmoniously knit together, as that it had an independent and enduring principle of life. If therefore God had permitted, that as it floated through the ocean of its early persecutions, or dashed through the storms of its later contests with the world, any page, or even book of that sacred collection had been washed away; if the first persecutors, who hunted inexorably after the Scriptures, had succeeded in destroying them, or in the darkness, or rather the distress, of a later period, portions had been lost, still the Church and the faith once delivered to the saints would have remained integrant, complete, and sufficient. The documents withdrawn would have been duplicate copies, most holy and valuable indeed, of an unfailing record kept in the traditions of the Church; not a tittle or iota would have passed away from her archives, nor from her teaching. Or rather the same Holy Spirit who indited the precious page, would still continue to preserve its substance unimpaired; for independent of, and anterior to, all written word was the promise, that He should teach the Church *all* truth.

2. We further say, that we do not permit the indiscriminate and undirected use of the Bible, because God has not given to His Church the instinct to do so. As He did not furnish her with the means, nor with the command, so has he not instilled into her that spontaneous impulse that guides her to new duties, in favour of this mode of propagating the faith. He founded her upon a principle of subordination, and gave her "first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly doctors." The questions could at all times have been answered negatively till now. "Are all apostles? are all prophets? are all doctors?"* But surely this principle of her organization would have been at an end much sooner, if she had taught, what she never has taught, that every one has to be his own apostle, prophet, and doctor. Yes, this is the result of universal license not only to read, but to judge of, Scripture. Wherever it prevails, church government declines, insubordination of judgment springs up, and a spirit of self-sufficiency and pride take the place of religious humility and docility.

* 1 Cor. xii. 28, 29.

Then as God did give to His Church the instinct of conversion, and implanted in her the consciousness of power to fulfil His command to teach all nations, and intuitive knowledge of successful means to do so, He certainly did not communicate to her the discovery of this age, that even to others every one is a doctor, and may become an apostle; and this is the result of universal Bible-reading. When a country had to be converted, like Ireland, or England, or Germany, bishops and priest were sent, ready at once to add a new member to the body of Christ, by the formation of an infant, but a fully organized, Church. There were not shipped off colonies of artisans, with wives, and children, all pensioned for the work, under the title of missionaries, to convert the heathen—men uneducated, unspiritual, unqualified for the work. And why not, as well as now? Because now such men are deemed fully qualified, if they have only a sufficient supply of Bibles to distribute, in some ludicrous translation, and have themselves learnt sufficient of Bible phraseology to perfect them in cant. And at home likewise, we now see the episcopal office usurped by committees of gentlemen and ladies, who, neglecting all consideration of there being a paid and established clergy, take upon themselves the duty of providing bible-readers instead.* Are we therefore, who

* Take the following prospectus just published. Not a single clergyman is on the committee, or holds any office in the society. Indeed, by the prospectus, it is clear that missionaries and bible-readers, not the clergy, are the instruments of salvation that its authors look to. They speak of the people as not yet having had the Gospel sent to them.

“Immediate arrangement of the London City Mission to send the Gospel to every family of the poor and working classes in Marylebone, Paddington, and St. George’s.

“Every District in the above Parishes, not previously under visitation of City Missionaries or Scripture Readers is about to be immediately supplied with a Missionary.

“FIFTY-TWO MISSIONARIES will then be employed to visit about One Hundred Thousand Souls, for the purpose of *reading to them the Holy Scriptures, explaining the way of salvation by the Lord Jesus Christ, and urging on all to attend some place of worship where the Gospel is preached*; also to gather neglected Children into various Day and Sabbath Schools, *to circulate freely the Bible*, and in all other practicable ways to promote the *spiritual* interest of those who habitually neglect the public means of grace.

“FOUR THOUSAND FOUR HUNDRED POUNDS per annum will be

still hold to the old ways, to depart from them, and from the very instincts of our religion, in favour of a system which disorganizes the very constitution of the Church, subverts all established order, and creates new offices, and distributes fresh commissions, of which she, in her best days was unconscious? God, too, has fixed in the very heart of His Church the instinct of unity; nay, has made it a very law of her existence, a mark of her truth, an evidence of her divine origin. And therefore within her, and throughout her, this unity has permanently existed. It has been maintained at the cost of any sacrifice, and only by adherence to principle, as severe as that which prompts a man to part with a limb, to save his life. Unity is the life of the Church. Subordination, and docility, are the means whereby it has been jealously preserved. And is she likely, after eighteen centuries of continuance in possession of this gift, to cast it at once away, by introducing what would cause disorganization and disruption into her constitution? She sees that, wherever the Protestant principle has been adopted, unity has ceased to exist. A gradual dissolution of every cohesive element, a flying off from every centre of unity, a splitting, a breaking, a comminution into smaller and smaller fragments, is the visible and logical consequence of this "reformed" system. Dissent from the powerful national establishment of large bodies, subdivisions of these, each day, into further sects, further separations of even these into lesser communities, till the religious discord has divided families; such are the clear effects of indiscriminate reading of the Bible. If then we still prize unity, should we not be mad, putting all question of principle, and duty to a revealed system and law aside, to reject what has been its safeguard till now, and

required to meet the necessary expenditure. Subscriptions to the above object have been already obtained, amounting to about £2700 per annum, to make up the deficiency, the additional sum of £1700 per annum is therefore needed.

"Upwards of TWENTY THOUSAND POUNDS per annum is also required to supply the remaining destitute districts of the Metropolis with Missionaries. The Committee of the Auxiliary for the above Parishes earnestly appeal to their friends, and to those who have not previously contributed, to help them, by their subscriptions and prayers, to sustain this great work, and to extend it throughout the whole of this vast city."

try what has been its destruction? For be it remembered, the Catholic Church is no experimentalist.

3. In fact, in answer to the question proposed, we answer, that we cannot, and must not adopt the Protestant course, because we have no reason to admire its fruits, or its expectations. We see no motive to be satisfied with the reckless experiment which others are trying. We do not see morals improving, or crime diminishing; but rather the contrary. We see dogma after dogma disappearing; baptismal regeneration is gone; the Eucharist is scarcely believed in; even the Divinity of our Lord is faintly held to, and that generally obscured by Nestorianism, or some other ancient heresy. No one can dream, that faith in these great truths will revive, through the diffusion of Bible-reading. The High Churchmen, who still flatter themselves that the Establishment has symptoms of new life in it, do not see it in the wider spread of this practice, but in what may be called its antagonistic, because the Catholic, principle, in the principle of authority, which they fancy is being strengthened and diffused.

Immediately we hear the words: "Ha! you own you are afraid of the Bible—you dare not trust your people with it. You acknowledge that if they read it, they would abandon the unity of the Church, and seek relief in the liberty of the Gospel." To this we reply, that we fear anything which we see in others baneful.* The time is perhaps approaching, when a fatal disease will break out again amongst us; and physicians will forbid us the use of delicious, and generally wholesome, food. And only because experience has shown them, those who have partaken of it, lying dead around them. In early times there was no need of legislation on the subject. The indiscriminate reading of Scripture was an impossibility, few could read; manuscripts were rare and expensive; and even St. Augustine, upon his conversion, knew not where to purchase or procure, a copy, at Milan. How un-Protestant must the city of Ambrose have been! The faithful heard the Divine word read in the church; and then listened to those splendid, or quaint, but always orthodox, devout, and practical homilies, which bishops or priests delivered on it. Every one that heard an Augustine, a Chrysostome, or an Ambrose, did not merely think that he was sitting under a learned man, or an eloquent, or a holy, but that he was one of the flock listening to his shepherd, a scholar attend-

ing on his master, a layman learning from a priest. He believed and knew that he was receiving the instructions of one in communion with the Church of Christ, an authorized expositor of her doctrine, her mouthpiece, only delivering what the Holy Spirit had taught her, only drawing from the deposit of orthodox doctrine, and of sound words, committed, by tradition, to his keeping. If at home, he read the Bible besides, he did so under this conviction, and under the guidance and safeguard, which it secured him. He never dreamt of judging for himself. When one did so, struck out a doctrine at variance with the teaching delivered, and persuaded others to follow his view, rather than his pastor's, that man was at once a heresiarch. His heresy might be crushed in the bud, or it might grow to be a huge weed, spreading into other countries. It was thus that Novatus, and Helvidius, and Vigilantius and many others arrived at this fatal celebrity, by choosing to interpret half a dozen texts of Scripture, their own way.

Now such characters were the exception ; they rose, half a dozen in a century. Judge then, what would have been the Church's discipline, if she had witnessed instead, what Protestantism considers now to be the rule, viz., that every man reading Scripture should become a heretic, that is should make, and hold, and proclaim, his own private views of it, independent of, or rather in opposition to, the Church's interpretation and doctrine ; that the reading of God's word should make a man separate from her communion, consequently become a schismatic. Thus continued the Church through centuries ; and as the deepening darkness of the ages into which she descended overclouded literature, still more difficult became self-willed interpretation ; for lessened were the means of indulging in it, in a generation of mail-clad warriors, and doubled was the faithful reliance of the children on their mother.

Then came the great trial of principles, with the bold spirit, that a revived civilization infused into the world. It was like the sudden return of health upon broken and languishing youth. With it flows back the tide of passions that far had ebbcd, and the flood of appetites that long had slept. With the learning of the Pagans came back their haughty spirit, which prepared to reconquer the dominion, that, ages before, Christianity had subdued. Sensualism incarnated in Luther, fatalism embodied in Calvin, the luxury and the philosophy of ancient Rome, its Epicurean-

ism and its Stoicism, came to battle with the Church. It was the war of morality through the contest of faith. We need not disgust our readers, with the acknowledgments of the so-called Reformers, that every vice had frightfully increased, since they had thrown off the Church's yoke. The passages are accessible in Milner, or Treverne.* Luther, by teaching openly that a man may sin as he likes if he only have faith—Calvin, by proclaiming that a predetermined fatalism imperiously domineers over his actions, opened each his door to vice, and crime, unchecked and unbounded. But both agreed in one means of gaining partizans, and destroying the Church. It was that of setting up the private judgment, that is the pride of each one, against what had held undisputed sway over the minds of all. "Not the Church but the Bible," they cried; "not the priest but reason." Nor was it difficult to foresee, that they who yielded to the call, for the purpose of casting off the yoke, would find in the Bible what their masters showed them, that continency was impossible, virginity no virtue, and breach of vow no sin. Then too away were to go confession, and fasting, and mortification, and monachism, and celibacy, and penances, and restitution, and the indissolubility of marriage, and evangelical counsels, and priestly admonition, and ecclesiastical censures, and whatever checked immorality, and supported virtue, the golden net-work of religious observance spread round the frail, treasure-fraught vessel, to secure it from breaking. Whoever read the Bible was to get rid of all these restraints, and holy ordinances, and was to live by a rule of his own making, in the liberty which his passions could wring from conscience.

And how were all men to come into the enjoyment of these exemptions? The Bible was to be translated into every language, not as heretofore had been done, in almost every country, under the sanction and correction of the Church, but by any one who chose to undertake it.

Such was the state of Christianity, when the Church was called on, to legislate against the new errors of Germany. She did exactly what the ancient, and primitive,

* Or see them recently collected in a new and excellent work, by M. Auguste Nicolas, of which we hope soon to give our readers an account, entitled "*Du Protestantisme, et de toutes les Hérésies dans leur rapports avec le Socialisme.*"—Paris, 1852, pp. 543, seqq.

Church would have done, struck at the root of the evil, encountered at once its principle. This was, had the individual the right not merely to read, but to interpret Scripture, according to his own private judgment, and follow this, in preference to the Church's teaching? To this she boldly and decidedly answered, "No."* But the evil was practical; how was it to be remedied? By separating the two—the reading from the interpreting. Allow the first, where there is no danger of the second.

For this division three things are necessary; first, an accurate version; secondly, such annotations as keep before the reader the Church's teaching, in the passages which the new teaching had perverted, and which might most easily be misunderstood; and thirdly, such good sense, knowledge, and piety, as would give security that the reader did not belong to the class of "the unlearned and unstable," and would not prefer his own fancies to the authorised interpretations of the Church. To all who came within these conditions, the reading of the Bible in the vulgar tongue was, and is, and always has been, permitted. The pastors of the Church could alone be the judges of their existence.† To have permitted more, would have been to give in to the very principle that had been set at work, to destroy Church authority. It may perhaps not be out of place to remark, that in countries, like this, in which the very antagonism of Catholics with Protestants keeps alive, and before their minds constantly, the two opposing principles of Church authority, and free judgment, restriction is less necessary, and scarcely exists. And on the other hand, in Catholic countries, such as can read, or do read, have access to the Latin version, without restraint.

But though the Scriptures may be here permitted, we do not *urge* them on our people; we do not encourage them to read them; we do not spread them to the utmost among them. Certainly not; and with a few remarks upon this point, we will close our lengthy article.

We may observe, that whatever is God's work is made at once complete: He "rests from it" when he has accomplished it. Modifications and variations may appear in its secondary parts, but as to organization, all is perfect.

* Conc. Trid. Sess. iv. Decret. de Editione et usu Sacrorum Librorum. † Regulæ de Lib. prohib. iv.

He was pleased to occupy time with the creation of the heavens and the earth ; but once finished, he returned to it no more. The laws which rule them now, ruled them from the beginning. The deluge defaced, and so remodelled the surface of earth ; altered relative proportions and positions ; but it is the same terraqueous globe that it was, ocean and land, mountain and plain, as God made it at the first. And no cultivation or discovery of man can alter its laws of production, its seasons, its relations to animal and vegetable life. In like manner he fashioned man, and breathed into him a living soul ; and for the purposes of his creation He made him perfect. No development of intellectual powers, no inventions of his ingenuity, through thousands of years, has added a single organ to his body, or a single power to his mind. The beauty, the strength, the resources of both have been brought out ; but in their essence and principle they existed from the beginning. The savage in the woods is man, as completely organized for life, as the most refined child of civilization. And food, and air, and all other requisites for life were adequately, from the first moment of life, bestowed. It would be wrong, it would be a sin against society and against Providence, to reject the additional benefits which have accumulated around us—nourishment, clothing, shelter, medicine, instruments, skill, learning, accomplishments, recreations, unknown to early races ; but these lived, and enjoyed life without them, in sufficient measure, because they possessed all that was essential to it. The power that made them could not withhold that.

What God does in the physical world is a counterpart of His work in the spiritual order. He created the former that man might live. He has established the latter that he may live for ever. In each the organization necessary for its life must be complete. When God bestows a system for the spiritual, and eternal life, it is by a revelation. The first of these completely developed was that of the Old Law. Let us briefly examine it.

It was not merely that the children of Abraham might enjoy the land of Chanaan, that God led Israel from Egypt. It was that one nation might be set apart, in which, through knowledge and worship of Him, salvation might be obtained. The whole system for this purpose was delivered in a few days. Moses went into the cloud for twice forty days, and brought it down to the people. God alone

to be loved and worshipped ; a brief code of ten moral precepts, containing all duties to God and man, a full system of ecclesiastical law, a minute explanation of the peculiar characteristic of the religion—the doctrine of the clean and unclean ; a priesthood, a worship, a ritual, a calendar ; all was given at once ; and to this (saving additional commemorative festivals, in the course of ages) nothing was ever added. The organization for the religious life—that is for salvation, was at once completed. To use an expressive foreign expression, the whole was cast at once ;* it was not hammered out by degrees. Who doubts that the pious and observant Israelite was at once in full possession of all that he needed for salvation ? Yet up to this moment, the book of Genesis at most, we may add perhaps the book of Job, could alone have been possibly written. By the end of forty years the Pentateuch was finished ; and then came a succession of ages, during which but a few short historical books were added :—Josue, Judges, Ruth, and Samuel or Kings, How were men saved in the meantime ? How could worship be carried on without the beautiful chaunts of David ? How could the penitent pour out his wail, without the repentant monarch's plaintive strains ? How could the afflicted pray for succour, without the inspiration of his sublime appeals to divine justice and mercy ? How could the jocund of heart, and priest and levite in procession, and conquerors returning from a sacred war, make a joyful noise to God, without psalms ? And yet four hundred years were allowed to pass, before this, apparently to us, necessary portion of the Old Testament was composed, and added to its yet scanty roll ; nay before the first appearance of the devotional element in the divine revelation. Yet in that interval how many had been saved ? Moses himself, and Aaron, and Phinees, and Josue, and Caleb, and Gideon, and Booz, and Ruth, and Jesse and Samuel, we may piously hope ; and many thousands more, unrecorded in history. The religious system given then on Sinai, not the reading of Scripture, sufficed for this.

Every Christian holds, that faith, though shadowy, in a future Redeemer, formed the soul of that system, of a religion embodied in so mystical a worship. How faint, however, are the early adumbrations of this essential object in the first records of inspiration. Even the Psalms give

* *Fu fatto di getto.*

but a first twilight to the coming day, compared with the coloured dawn, that begins to shine in the prophets. And now that we have accustomed ourselves to look back upon the Old Testament as a whole, and see it, not spread out, in its slow compilation, over a period of a thousand years and more, but compressed into a small pocket volume, we naturally consider the body of the prophets, as forming one of its most essential divisions, for evidence, for instruction, for edification, and for sublimity of thought. Yet the Jews were doomed to do, aye and to be saved, without it, for good three hundred years more. At that period after David, and seven hundred years after the Jewish religion had been established, Isaias wrote; a hundred years later Jeremias, and after him Ezekiel and Daniel, and several of the lesser prophets. Yet not even so, is the sacred volume of the Old Testament complete. When in 1304 after Moses, and only 187 before Christ, Jonathan wrote to the Spartans, "We needed none of these things, having for our comfort the holy books that are in our hands,"* he was perhaps unconscious that he was writing what some years later would form, by incorporation, a portion of those sacred books. About twenty-five years later, or 160 before Christ, the seal was set upon the inspired writings of the older dispensation; and the volume was closed, which had been opened by Moses upwards of 1330 years before.

We have then two important facts before us; the giving of the Jewish religion was the work of a few hours; the formation of its Scriptures was the work of a thousand years. The first resembled the creation of man, the second the record of his civilization. The first was life, the second culture. Whatever was necessary for life, that is, we repeat, salvation, was complete at once; the organization for it could receive no addition. The later Jew could nourish his piety by the royal Psalmist's holy hymns; his children could learn wisdom from the Proverbs of Solomon; his descendants could pity former generations who had not enjoyed the sublime beauties, and the consoling visions of the prophets. These were like the growing riches of a prosperous, or rather a providential, system; but life was as entire before they were

* 1 Mach. xii. 9.

bestowed; its essential requirements grew not, as they swelled. "Salvation was of the Jews,"* from Moses unto Christ, through the observance, in its spirit, of the law delivered by God in the wilderness.

Now let us see, how far the same course was observed, in the bestowing of the second, and better revelation.

As the Spirit of God came down, in the beginning, on the chaotic, but inchoate, elements of the material world, and fecundating them, predisposed them for organic existence; so did He on the day of Pentecost, (the festival of the previous law-giving,) descend, with that same power of life, upon the component parts, and latent germs, of a new and spiritual, and a divine creation. He touched them, and they lived. In the apostles, timid and heartless, unwise and misunderstanding, there were laid up the rudiments of the future Church, its primacy, its episcopate, its priesthood, its sacraments, its powers. These had all been bestowed; but as yet appeared to be sealed up in foetal life, within their unconscious bosoms. There too lay, locked up, commissions of boundless magnitude, to be teachers of the learned, the conquerors of the strong, the confounders of the proud, the salt of the earth, the light of the world. There slumbered in abeyance titles of highest dignity—apostles, martyrs, princes of God's kingdom, fathers of Christ's disciples, judges of Israel, and of angels, foundation-stones and gates of the heavenly Jerusalem. There dwelt as yet powerless and useless, gifts destined to be of infinite profit to the world; the keys of the kingdom yet hung loose and untried from Peter's girdle; the rich vessel of love, borne away from his Master's bosom, yet remained unbroken, and with its odour undiffused in the heart of John; the evangelical pen was still undipped in the hand of Matthew; miraculous powers, invested in their very shadows, command of life and death, marvellous eloquence, prophecy and discernment of spirits, lie dormant in the souls of all; like Sampson's strength, awaiting the spirit that has to rouse it. It was like the preparation for sacrifice under Nehemias; the altar was built up, the wood was laid, the victim slain; but over all was poured, what seemed to be but thick and miry water, a hindrance rather than an aid to fire. But soon as one ray of the sun darted upon the materials thus prepared, a

* Jo. iv. 22.

brilliant blaze, and a cry of joy, proclaimed that the work of faith was crowned with success.* And so it was here. The appointed hour is come; a mighty wind announces the approach of God's Holy Spirit; His fire descends on each of them, with a kindling touch; their latent powers burst into life; their gifts rush into existence; the Church of God, in all its perfection and all its beauty, is born to all the world, and to all ages. Not to mention Mary and the others who were in their company, three thousand laymen are in a few hours joined to the clergy. As completely as the child of one day is the same as the man of twenty years, so is the Church of Whit-Sunday, that of the third, or the nineteenth century. There is the whole of its living machinery complete: it contains already whatever is necessary for salvation. He who joins it this day, may die to-morrow in peace. The hierarchy which is to spread its co-ordinate and harmonious rule over the world is there; and Peter already leads its force, and centres in himself its union. The body of docile and submissive faithful is gathered around them, not to dispute but to learn. Before evening the first sacrament, baptism, has been administered to multitudes, and the next verse to that which so informs us, tells us that they persevered "in the breaking of bread,"† that is, in the celebration of the Eucharistic Sacrifice and Sacrament. Soon many came to the apostles confessing their sins, to obtain forgiveness; soon they placed their hands on the baptised, and gave them the Holy Ghost; soon they ordained new ministers; and soon the sick were anointed with oil, and were healed in soul and body.

Thus did the Church, the new means of salvation, come into being, in her hierarchical and sacramental organization, as perfectly as did the Jewish system under Moses. From the beginning were in her all the gifts of life; and there was no want of a single instrument for attaining perfection in grace, and the brightest crown of glory. Again we ask, by what were men then to be saved? By adhering to the pastors of the Church, by practising what they taught, by baptism, by the Eucharist, by the forgiveness of sins, by prayer. And that teaching included all that was necessary in faith, without a written record. Whatever might be done later, could not invalidate this primi-

* 2 Mac. i. 21.

† Acts ii. 42.

tive institution, could not add to the system first established. There was no room for a further revelation. Whatever might be written by an inspired apostle could only be a record of what was already known, and believed; a truly important, sacred, invaluable record, a treasure of wisdom, a gift of God, but still incapable of adding to the deposit of faith, safely lodged in the Church's keeping.

Twelve years pass, and not a line is written, intended to be permanent. The first Gospel then appears, but fifty more years elapse before the fourth is given to the world. St. John allowed more than sixty to intervene between the death of his divine Master, and his own record of His life. Who does not see, that if his Gospel, certainly the most beautiful and most instructive, had formed a part of a plan essential to salvation, St. John would not have risked such a lengthened space, would not have waited till he should become a very aged man, nor trusted to his being delivered alive from the boiling oil into which he was cast by Domitian, that is, to the not having to drink as fully as his brother James of the cup of martyrdom to which our Lord had equally pledged them both. It was, in fact, a new heresy that prompted him to write: had it come a few years later, or had John's life only reached the apostolic average, we might have been deprived of his heavenly Gospel.

The Divine goodness, however, willed it otherwise, and gave us that, and the many other rich proofs of mercy, of which the New Testament are the archives. Looking at what we there possess, the knowledge of our Lord's life, character, actions, words, and sufferings; the history of the early Church, with its trials and triumphs; the wisdom of the cross, and sublime instruction on abstruse points of doctrine, as well as the plain lessons for our homely duties, treasured in St. Paul's Epistles; the one flow of love which, like balm from its plant, continues inexhaustibly to exude, and diffuse itself, from every line in St. John's; the particular, but most precious, learning contained in the Catholic Epistles; and the dark but encouraging visions of the Apocalypse, bringing down the glories of the new Jerusalem to the level of our earthly imaginations; we cannot but consider it all not merely as a chance acquisition, but as a necessity for the Church. We are as much used to the enjoyment of all this, as we are to that of sight. We cannot imagine what we should have done had we been

created without it, nor what other organ, or instrument, for the apprehension of outward and distant objects, God could have substituted for it. Yet perhaps we can no more conceive how the spiritual Jew lived before psalm, or proverb, or prophecy, had enlightened him. Nor can we well imagine how multitudes of Christians grew to perfection, and died for the faith, before a line of the New Testament had been penned. They heard no doubt, still fresh from memory, the words and actions of their Lord, but they heard them from faithful witnesses only; not under the safeguard of inspiration. Might not those reminiscences, written down fresh, with all the diligence, and conscientious verifications of a St. Luke, have satisfied the piety of future ages as well, and yet inspiration have been withheld? And as to faith, Jesus Christ had not promised inspiration to His apostles' writing, but He had secured to them infallibility in teaching; and this gift was to descend, through His own presence and assistance, to the end of the world. Still, with a gratitude which can never be too great, with a reverence which cannot be too deep, with a docility which can never be too simple, the Church of God, and each of her children, accepts, cherishes, and prizes the glorious gift of His words to man. It is the very charter of her authority, the storehouse of her evidences, the armoury of her defence. It is the inexhaustible repository of her lessons whether of faith, or of morals; the treasure from which she draws out things old yet ever new for our instruction. It is her counsellor, her wisdom, her glory. When she unfolds it, and solemnly reads from it to her children, the smallest passage of her Spouse's life, she orders the tapers of the sanctuary to burn around it, and the incense to perfume the very atmosphere in which its words shall resound; and when the priest kissing the blessed text, whispers his prayer: "*Per evangelica dicta deleantur nostra delicta,*" he expresses more confidence in the Gospel of Jesus, than all the speeches in Exeter Hall can match. Nothing in fact can exceed the value which the Church has ever set, and must continue to set, till the end of time, upon this inestimable inheritance which is exclusively hers, of which she alone holds at once, the record and the key.

But she would be departing from her duty, and from the truth, were she to hold out the Scriptures to man, as the appointed channels of salvation. These existed in their

fulness before they were written in the Old Law; before the Bible, in the New before the Testament. Nothing that came later than Pentecost could add to the perfect organization of the Church, as containing assurance, and means, of eternal life. These means we urge upon the people committed to our charge. We do not thrust the Bible, almost perforce, into their hands; but we say to them: "Listen to the doctrines of Scripture as only rightly understood and certainly taught by the true Church of God, to which alone is promised the infallibility of a divine direction." We say to them: "Employ the means of grace which He has confided to her alone; the ministry of her priesthood, in exhortations, reproof, advice, direction; the devout use of the sacraments committed to her dispensation, especially Penance and the Eucharist: the employment of prayer, meditation, and watchfulness over the conscience. Such are the means by which saving grace was given in the beginning, and will continue to be granted to the end. To Bible reading no such gift has been attached.

One difficulty may be raised. As each new book was added to the Canon of the Old Testament, a new obligation was imposed of receiving and believing that book; and so a new condition of salvation was added to the Law. In like manner, the compilation of the New brought with it a new belief in its inspiration and truth, and thus modified the terms of salvation originally granted. Our answer is brief and simple. In each case provision was originally made for the future contingency. In the Old Law, Moses teaches the people that prophets will arise, and that they must be ready to hear their words. Though the passage principally applies to our Lord, yet it is clearly referable to all prophecy; because it gives the tests for distinguishing the true from the false. "I will raise them up a prophet... and I will put my words into his mouth, and he shall speak to them all I shall command him. And he that will not hear his words,...I will be the avenger."* The hearkening then to one who was a true prophet was a precept of the Law, and implicit belief in all future prophecies was involved in its acceptance. Esdras who drew up the first Canon was a prophet.

In like manner, the New Law had its provision for

* Deut. xviii. 18.

future inspiration. And where? In the belief of that authority which could alone attest inspiration, and sanction a Canon. What the line of prophets was in the Old Law, the unbroken continuance of Divine authority is in the New. When we said that sixty years intervened between Our Saviour's death, and the completion of the Testament, we might have added, and many more passed before the final settlement of the Canon. St. Paul wrote several other epistles besides those in Scripture, which have not been admitted into it. Who decided which were a part of God's word? Those which are admitted were sent to particular churches, and only travelled slowly from country to country. Who extended them to all? Some churches read *Hermas's Pastor*, and St. Barnabas's epistle, with the Scripture. Who caused them to be rejected? Many apocryphal gospels were circulated at a very early period. Who sifted the wheat from the chaff, and condemned them? Who, in fine, gave to all Christendom a uniform Canon, and stamped every book in it with authority, vouching for its inspiration? Only the Church, and the work was not fully accomplished for some hundreds of years; not till the age of Councils. It was entirely on faith in the decision of the Church, that the Christians grounded the acceptance of those particular books which compose the New Testament. Now this principle of believing whatever the Church should define is the very first and fundamental one laid down in the organization of the Church from the beginning. "He that heareth you, heareth Me." "If he will not hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen;" such are the axioms of this organization of faith. The belief then of the earlier, as of the later Church in Scripture, and the acceptance by both of its Canon, is not a new condition of salvation, but only an application of one laid down, at the very births of Judaism and of Christianity.

As for ourselves, we refuse to yield to any protestant, in love and reverence for God's written word. It has been the Book of our predilection from earliest youth; for we had been allowed to peruse it long before manhood. It has been the study of years; nor have we accounted pains, or trouble, or time, as anything, if they could help us to know it, and to profit by it. Days and nights have been passed by us, in collecting knowledge subservient to it; and we have read and written not a little, to assist our

imperfect power, in defending, illustrating, and applying it. But, instead of all this, and more, leading us to believe that we had fathomed or measured it, it has only made us more and more cling to the inborn and instinctive wisdom of the mother's teaching, as the safest guidance for the child. Deeper and deeper, broader and broader, has this wisdom appeared to us, the more we dived, and the more we sailed, in that ocean of heavenly truth. For everywhere did we meet that directing hand, supporting and conducting, in safety and in joy. The holy Scripture *with* the Church is a Book of life; but *without* her, it may be a volume of death. For "the letter killeth;" and that alone does man possess, without the Spirit of life, which she alone received in the Apostles.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—1. *University Education*. A Sermon delivered by His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, in St. George's Cathedral, Southwark, on Sunday, June 27th, on behalf of the Catholic University of Ireland. Richardson and Son: London, Dublin, and Derby.

2.—*The Second Spring*. A Sermon preached in the Synod of Oscott, on Tuesday, July 13th, 1852. By John Henry Newman, D.D., President of the Catholic University of Ireland, and Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. Richardson and Son: London, Dublin, and Derby.

The two Sermons whose titles stand above, are by far the most important and most interesting to the Catholic reader of any that have been delivered in England for many a long year; the former as stamping the great effort now making in Ireland on behalf of Catholic education, with the full approbation of the highest ecclesiastical authority in England; the latter as commemorating the greatest event which has occurred for three centuries in the

* 2 Cor. iii. 6, "For the letter killeth, but the spirit quickeneth."

annals of English Catholicism, and delivered by one of the greatest intellects of our day, in the presence of the heads of the Church in England, assembled in solemn Synod. We think that few of our readers will be contented with the scanty extracts which we can give of these two invaluable sermons, the contents of which ought to be read over again and again by all who have the advancement of the Catholic religion at heart. The subject of the former is the nature of Divine wisdom as distinct from mere learning and human wisdom, together with the paramount necessity of this divine gift in any effort at educating the young. After showing what is meant by Divine wisdom, His Eminence proceeds to assert, that "all knowledge must be imperfect, if not often pernicious, unless the idea of God be not merely set by the side of it, but mingled intimately with it." The following extract will be found to convey in a few words the drift of the discourse itself, which is published in the hope that its sale will afford some profits to the fund which is being collected on behalf of the Catholic University.

"It is this danger, my brethren, that the Church wishes to avoid. It is not that she desires to have knowledge less perfect, science less deep, learning less severe.....but she deprecates the severance of religion from them, and making religion as only one class of science which must be restrained from trenching on the right of other sciences, as they are told that they must not presume to intrude upon that of religion. It is when from the same lips that speak that worldly wisdom—it is when from those same grey hairs that have been for twenty or thirty years engaged in scientific research—it is when from the fulness of that learning and knowledge which it has taken half a century to collect—it is when from the teacher himself, who has searched and explored every depth into which he endeavours to lead his scholars—it is when from hence break forth from time to time such words as these, 'See and admire here the power of God.—See how in the history of nations His hand is to be found!'—it is this hourly and daily kneading of heavenly bread with the bread of this earth; it is this constant insinuation and instilling into the ear and heart of religious truths; it is this habitual reverence for God that is made to spring naturally from every topic; it is this which makes learning wisdom; it is this which will make those who are educated in this manner wise unto eternal life."—pp. 13, 14.

Concerning the other Sermon, we need only remark that it contains a most beautiful sketch of the downfal and

resurrection of the Catholic Church in England, into a "Second Spring" of life, together with a most able parallel or contrast (for we scarcely knew which to say,) between the fortunes of the Church in our land, and the phenomena of the physical and moral world. We may add that the beauty of the Sermon itself, as a piece of composition, apart from other and far higher merits, is such as to have extorted a meed of praise even from the reluctant pens of the Protestant daily journals.

The following passage is a noble summary of the first part of the Very Rev. Father Newman's argument.

"Thus man and all his works are mortal; they die, and they have no power of renovation. But a prodigy has occurred. The past has returned, the dead lives. Thrones are overturned, and are never restored; states live and die, and then are matter only for history. Babylon was great, and Tyre, and Egypt, and Nineveh, and shall never be great again. The English Church was, and the English Church was not, and the English Church is once again. This is the portent worthy of a cry. It is the coming in of a second spring."—(p. 13.)

Father Newman develops his argument in the following eloquent and impressive paragraph, which we copy entire for the benefit of our readers:

"Three centuries ago and the Catholic Church, that great creation of God's power, stood in this land in pride of place. It had the honours of near one thousand years upon it; it was enthroned in some twenty sees up and down the broad country; it was based in the will of a faithful people; it energised through ten thousand instruments of power and influence; and it was ennobled by a host of saints and martyrs. The churches, one by one, recounted and rejoiced in the line of glorified intercessors, who were the respective objects of their grateful homage. Canterbury alone numbered, perhaps, some sixteen, from St. Augustine to St. Dunstan and St. Elphege, from St. Anselm and St. Thomas down to St. Edmund. York had its St. Paulinus, St. John, St. Wilfrid, and St. William; London its St. Erconwald; Durham its St. Cuthbert; Winton its St. Swithun. Then there was St. Aidan of Lindisfarne, and St. Hugh of Lincoln, and St. Chad of Lichfield, and St. Thomas of Hereford, and St. Oswald and St. Wulstan of Worcester, and St. Osmund of Salisbury, and St. Birinus of Dorchester, and St. Richard of Chichester. And then, too, its religious orders, its monastic establishments, its universities, its wide relations all over Europe, its high prerogatives in the temporal state, its wealth, its dependencies, its popular honours—where is there in the whole of Christendom a more glorious hierarchy? Mixed up with the civil institu-

tions, with kings and nobles, with the people, found in every village and in every town—it seemed destined to stand, so long as England stood, and to outlast, it might be, England's greatness.

“But it was the high decree of heaven that the majesty of that presence should be blotted out. It is a long story, my fathers and brothers—you know it well. I need not go through it. The vivifying principle of truth, the shadow of St. Peter, the grace of the Redeemer, left it. That old church on its day became a corpse, (a marvellous, an awful change!) and then it did but corrupt the air which once it refreshed, and cumber the ground which once it beautified. So all seemed to be lost; and there was a struggle for a time, and then its priests were cast out, or martyred. There were sacrileges innumerable. Its temples were profaned or destroyed; its revenues seized by covetous nobles, or squandered upon the ministers of a new faith. The presence of Catholicism was at length simply removed,—its grace disowned,—its power despised,—its name, except as a matter of history, at length almost unknown. It took a long while to do this thoroughly; much time, much thought, much labour, much expense, but at last it was done. Oh, that miserable day, centuries before we were born! What a martyrdom to live in it, and see the fair form of Truth, moral and material, hacked piecemeal, and every limb and organ carried off and burned in the fire, or cast into the deep! But at last the work was done. Truth was disposed of, and shovelled away, and there was a calm, a silence, a sort of peace;—and such was about the state of things when we were born into this weary world.”

II.—*Legends of the Blessed Virgin*. From the French. London: Dolman, 1852.

The little work before us is evidently from the pen of one who deserves to have lived in better days, viz., the ages of faith; for the spirit and tone of his book is certainly very much opposed to the spirit of *this* age of materialism and subjectivity, and to those many other forms of infidelity which the intellectual world has dressed up in scientific names. The book consists of a number of well authenticated legends of the miraculous interpositions of our Blessed Lady upon various occasions. They are written in a simple and easy style, and in such a manner as cannot fail to render them attractive to the minds of children and young people, and of those who in maturer age are happy enough to preserve the simplicity of childhood. The sources from which these “Legends” are derived are various, including histories of many of the most celebrated pilgrimages in France and Belgium. We should add, for the information of our Protestant readers, that the word “Legend”

here is not to be understood in its Protestant and modern sense. The proper meaning of the word "Legenda," is things worthy of being read, as opposed to "Credenda," or matters of necessity to be believed. We need only add our testimony to the elegance of diction which characterizes this book, one which, in our belief, will go far to supply a want very generally felt and acknowledged among English Catholics.

III.—*Novena of the Sacred Heart of Jesus Christ.* Richardson and Son : London, Dublin, and Derby.

The Meditations of this beautiful little book were originally composed in Italian by the well-known F. de Borgo, S. J., in the year 1778, and are drawn, as he tells us himself, from the Life of the Ven. Margaret Mary Alacocque. The preachings and writings of F. de Borgo went far in his day towards spreading the devotion to the Sacred Heart, and they are now presented to devout English Catholics with the same end in view, as well for their use at other times, but especially for the Novena preceding the Feast of the Sacred Heart. To quote from the preface, we may say with truth, "that the frequent use of them will make their profound spirituality, no less than their practical bearing upon daily life, duly appreciated." Moreover, their having such an author, and being drawn from such a source, is a greater recommendation than anything which we could say. We must add one word of commendation in behalf of the present translation; and, taking this little work as a fair sample, we may congratulate ourselves and our fellow Catholics on the improved language and style of some of our more modern books of devotion, as compared with those of a few years back.